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THE "CATHOLIC FRACTION"

By Clarence A. Herbst*

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE

FRIEDRICH MEINECKE, writing recently in *The Review of Politics*, quotes the then young Rudolf Virchow as writing to his father only six days after the street fighting in Berlin in the March Days of 1848: "Already there begins a reaction among the citizenry (Bourgeoisie) against the workers (the people). Already they are speaking of a rabble, already plans are being made for withholding equal distribution of political rights among the various groups in the nation."¹ It was just such reaction and discrimination as this, that induced the Catholics in Prussia to band together and form in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Landtag the "Catholic Fraction" to defend their rights.

That there should be a politico-religious conflict within the German states is not surprising. Charles V failed to put down the Protestant Revolt and acknowledged defeat by signing a truce, the Peace of Augsburg, in 1555. From the smoldering ashes burst forth the flame of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), also heavily religious. After it, the Peace of Westphalia divided the Germanies more or less into a Protestant North and a Catholic South. Further secularization of the property of the Catholic Church, especially in the time of Napoleon, straitened Catholic resources more and more. Continued conflict between the civil authorities and the bishops came to a head in the arrest of Clemens August von Droste-Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1837, but this was the beginning of a new day. When Frederick William IV came to the Prussian throne in 1840 he at once undertook to compose difficulties.²

* Clarence A. Herbst, S.J., M.A., formerly in the department of History of Creighton University, is now at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas.

¹ Friedrich Meinecke, "The Year 1848 in German History" in *The Review of Politics*, X (1948), 484.

² Johannes B. Kissling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Deutschen Reiche* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1911-1916, 3 volumes), I, 1-237 gives a good summary of the Catholic Church in the German states from 1610 to 1860. Probably the best work in English is still James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution*, (St. Louis, Herder, 1916, 2 volumes), and *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, (St. Louis, Herder, 1910, 2 volumes), by the same author, *passim* under the headings of the various German states.

Then came 1848. The Catholic people rose to the new freedom. The first general meeting of the Catholic Associations of Germany was held at Cologne in October. Thereafter, there was a great flowering of such *Vereine* in German lands. In the formal religious sphere popular missions were encouraged by the bishops in their meeting at Würzburg, November 8, and such missions, given by Jesuits and others, flourished.³ General Catholic interest in politics showed itself in Catholic clubs, Catholic programs, Catholic papers. Catholics were alive to their opportunities.⁴

The new Prussian Constitution of January 31, 1850, contained a real declaration of independence for the Catholic Church. Its pertinent provisions were:

Article 12. Freedom of religious profession, meeting for religious societies, and of private and public practice of religion in general, is guaranteed. The enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent of religious profession. Civil and political obligations shall suffer no prejudice by the exercise of religious freedom.

Article 14. Without prejudice to the religious freedom guaranteed by Article 12, the Christian religion shall be the basis on which arrangements with the State for the practice of religion shall rest.

Article 15. The Evangelical and Roman Catholic Church, as well as every other religious body, regulate and administer their affairs independently, and retain the use and ownership of their own institutions, foundations, and funds for worship, education, and charitable works.

Article 16. The relation of religious societies with their superiors shall not be interfered with. The promulgation of ecclesiastical ordinances is subject only to the regulations to which all other public acts are subject.

Article 18. The right of nomination, presentation, election, and confirmation in the filling of ecclesiastical offices, in so far as it pertains to the State and does not rest on patronage or special title in law, is abolished.

³ Documentary evidence of the success of missions given by Jesuits is offered by Bernhard Duhr, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Jesuiten-Missionen in Deutschland, 1848-1872* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1903). Similar *acta* could be given for the other Religious Orders. The official encouragement given by the German bishops to popular missions may be found in *Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum, Collectio Lacensis*, Auctoribus Presbyteris S.J. e Domo B.V.M. sine Labe Conceptae ad Lacum (Friburgi Brisgoviae, Sumptibus Herder, 1870-1890, 8 vols.), V, 1087, 1140 (November 8 and 15, 1848).

⁴ A short account of this Catholic renaissance is given by Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der Deutschen Zentrumsparthei* (Köln, J. P. Bachem, 1927-1932, 9 vols.), II, 1-74.

Article 24. In the setting up of public elementary schools, religious convictions are to be respected as far as possible. Religious instruction in these schools shall be given by the respective religious bodies.⁵

But almost at once autocratic and protestant Prussia began to encroach on the generous consideration given to Catholics by the basic law of the land. The chief attacks were two. The first was a decree issued jointly May 22, 1852, by the Minister of Worship, von Raumer and of the Interior, von Westphalen to the Presidents-General of the Provinces of Prussia restricting the giving of popular missions and putting Catholic missionaries under police surveillance.⁶ This, Catholics thought, was clearly against Article 12. The second attack was a decree of July 16, 1852, to the King's representative in Coblenz forbidding anyone to study at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome or at the Propaganda there, or in institutions conducted by Jesuits, without previous permission. Foreign Jesuits and priests who had studied under Jesuits should be forbidden to found institutions in Prussia.⁷ This seemed to indicate that not only freedom to impart, but also freedom to seek religious instruction, was being infringed upon. Did the *Raumerschen Erlasse* point to a falling back into old Prussian police-state methods and repression of the Catholic way of life?

The Catholics thought so and became alarmed. On August 22, the bishops of Cologne and Muenster sent a protest to the King against this violation of constitutional rights.⁸ The *Deutschen Volkshalle* of Cologne, the main German Catholic paper, asked that a close party organization be formed and that all the forces for good should work

⁵ Carl Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1924), 444 ff.

⁶ Cf. Duhr, *Op. cit.*, n.126.

⁷ Text in Heinrich Brück, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland in neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, (Münster i. W., Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, 1902-1908, 4 vols. in 5 parts, 2.ed [Kissling], III, 67.

⁸ There probably would have been no Catholic Fraction had there been no Raumer decrees. "Without these," August Reichensperger wrote October 20, 1893, "it should not have occurred to us to found such a Fraction. Before the Raumer decrees we had not thought of it at all. We had the Constitution after all." Ludwig Pastor, *August Reichensperger* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1899, 2 vols.), I, 342, note 2.

September 28, 1852, the towns of the Rhine province seconded the bishops' protest by sending an address to the King asking for the revocation of the Raumer decrees. August Reichensperger was the author of the petition. The substance of it appeared in the *Volkshalle* No. 236. Cf. *ibid.*, 341, note 2.

in persevering cöoperation to form a "Catholic Fraction." Not that the Fraction should be denominational or work for purely religious ends. It would welcome all who wished to fight for religious, civil, and political rights and the maintenance of the constitution.⁹

The fall elections for the Second Chamber were coming up. The primaries were held October 25. In the elections November 3, thirty-two protestant Representatives were unseated and Catholics took their places. The number of Catholics now in the House was more than doubled. Of the sixty-one members elected for the Rhine Province thirty-nine were staunch Catholics. The organized and determined effort of Prussian Catholics to make their power felt had borne abundant fruit.¹⁰

The session of the Landtag was opened by the president of the ministry, von Manteuffel on November 29, 1852. On the evening of the day following, November 30, the "Catholic Fraction" came formally into existence. It did not draw up a platform for its external activity, but it was understood that the members would stand by the constitution and fight for its preservation. They would also strive to maintain the independence of corporations, individual freedom, and civil equality. They would hold out for the rights and freedom of the Church, equality in the holding of public office, and religion in the schools.¹¹

But the party did draw up a program for its own internal activity.

STATUTES OF THE CATHOLIC FRACTION

1. The Fraction seeks to be as much as possible at one on the resolutions proposed in the House. There are regular meetings for this purpose. These will be carried on along the lines of friendly discussion. There will be no speeches. Without special permission no one shall speak more than five minutes. The committee determines in what order the speakers will appear according to the time they put in their bid to speak and taking into consideration the Pros and Cons.

⁹ Some thought the name "Catholic Fraction" an unhappy choice: it might frighten some people away and give the impression that things purely Catholic would be fought for. The chapter "Das Zentrum keine konfessionelle, sondern eine politische Partie" in Ed. Hüsken, *Ludwig Windthorst* (Cöln, J. P. Bachem, 1911), 88 ff. covers this well. Cf. also M. Erzberger, *Das Deutsche Zentrum* (Amsterdam, Internationale Verlagsbuchhandlung MESSIS, 1910), 28. Bodelschwingh wanted to oppose to the Catholic fraction an Evangelical one: cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 242, note 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 104 ff.

¹¹ Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 343.

2. At every regular or special meeting the majority of those present pass resolutions. The absent members take part in so far as they can.
3. Measures and amendments not resulting from the regular meetings of the House, and interpellations, should not be brought forward by the members of the Fraction without majority vote.
4. No member should support by his signature measures of Representatives outside the Fraction whose subject-matter has not been previously discussed in the Fraction.
5. The Fraction chooses, every month, a committee of seven members and a secretary. The committee must see to it that the statutes are observed, conduct the meetings, carry out the resolutions of the Fraction, and in general carry on the business.
6. The chairman, chosen for each meeting by the committee from among its own members, maintains order in the meeting. He appoints, with the approval of the other members of the committee, the speaker who will present the position of the Fraction in the House. If objection is raised against his presentation, the Fraction steps in. In the same way he appoints committees or reporters for individual questions and assigns work on special business.
7. To facilitate communication with the members of the Fraction the members are divided into groups of ten, from among which number the committee selects a chairman and a substitute.
8. To defray the expenses of the Fraction the members pay a monthly fee of one dollar. A treasurer chosen by the committee takes care of this money.
9. After becoming sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the Fraction, a Representative can become a member if one-third of those present do not declare against him. The new member must by his signature pledge himself to observe the statutes.
10. All personal questions shall be decided by secret ballot so long as all those present do not want a public vote.
11. Anyone may quit the Fraction at any time, but the dues for the current month must be paid up.
12. A member may be expelled on a motion proposed by six members seconded by a two-thirds majority vote.
13. On notifying the committee, other Representatives or externs may be brought into individual sessions as guests.

14. The Catholic members of the First Chamber can always be present at the proceedings of the Fraction after presenting themselves to the committee.
 Berlin, November 30, 1852.¹²

August Reichensperger drafted these statutes. Those present did not think it right that the minority should be obliged to vote with the majority on purely political questions and had this deleted from the original plan. This was the only change. Sixty-three signed the statutes; fifty-four of them were Catholics, seventeen were priests. Thirty-three of them were from the Rhineland, sixteen from Westphalia, nine from Silesia, two from West Prussia, two from East Prussia, and one from Hohenzollern. Many of these already were or were to become great men in public life: August and Peter Reichensperger, Heinrich Osterath, Hermann von Mallinckrodt, Eugen Thissen, Dr. Eberhard, Wilhelm Rohden, Wilderich von Ketteler, Graf Ballestrem, to name only a few.¹³ The first committee of seven was composed of August Reichensperger, president, Peter Reichensperger, Heinrich Osterath, Wilhelm Rohden, Wilderich von Ketteler, Graf Joseph Stolberg, and Freiherr von Waldbott-Bornheim-Bassenheim.

The Fraction had to stand for certain things. It stood firmly by the Prussian constitution of 1850 which, if observed, would give freedom to the Catholic Church. In this it was against the conservatives who were reactionary. It stood for equality in civil, political, and religious rights. It was *grossdeutsch*; that is, it wanted a union of all the German states including Austria. In this it was against the *kleindeutsch* Liberals. Yet, one could scarcely find anyone more liberal in the good old sense of the word than, for instance, the Reichensperger brothers, whether it was in the political or religious or economic field. It was particularist in that its members would

¹² Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 216, 217. The keynote of the whole was in paragraph 1: *work together!*

An interesting extra and spiritual "statute" was given in the *Deutsche Volkshalle*. "Bearing in mind that, without the help of God's grace, all human efforts can achieve nothing, but that the Lord of Heaven can do great things even with weak instruments; it has been agreed upon that every Saturday one of the priest Representatives shall offer the Holy Sacrifice in honor of the Blessed Virgin. The other Catholic Representatives will assist in order to implore the intercession of her who is the Help of Christians and the patroness of all Christian warriors." Quoted in Otto Pfülf, *Hermann v. Mallinckrodt* (Freiburg in Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1901), 66.

¹³ The list is given in Bachem, *ibid.*

work hard in the interests of the various provinces they represented, and in that it was against bureaucratic centralization.¹⁴

The Catholics wanted to put their newly organized forces to the test at once. The first result was a happy one. They succeeded in electing on December 6, Waldbott-Bornheim as first vice-president of the house. A joint petition of the Catholic Fraction and the Catholics in the First Chamber to the Minister of Worship for a satisfactory representation for Catholic school interests in the ministry of cult was not so fortunate. It got no answer. On December 14, 1852, the Duke of Ratibor for the First Chamber (House of Lords), and Graf Stolberg for the Second Chamber petitioned the King for a special ministry for Catholic education and ecclesiastical affairs in general. Copies of this were sent at the same time to the president of the ministry, von Manteuffel. Again no answer was received.¹⁵

So the two indirect attacks on the Raumer decrees, which had been the immediate cause for the founding of the Catholic Fraction, failed. The direct attack was launched December 17. "The Measure of Waldbott and Associates," framed by Peter Reichensperger, proposed that the House appoint a committee to prepare an address to the King asking that "the decrees of the Minister for Education and Spiritual Affairs and of the Interior, of May 22 and July 16, restricting the giving of Catholic missions and the training and establishments of Catholic priests, be revoked."¹⁶ This *Waldbott Antrag* was signed by the members of the Catholic Fraction, by twelve Poles and several Catholics of other parties, bringing the number of signatures up to eighty-eight. As this was the first major problem attacked by the new Fraction, and a matter of great fundamental significance, a few details are in place.

The bill was brought in December 21. On January 10, 1853, the protestant representatives of all parties met to determine what position they should take on this matter. On January 11 there took place the election of a "Central Committee" of fourteen members into which the measure was to be sent before coming up in the House. Each of the seven divisions, into which the Second Chamber was divided, had to vote for the members of the committee, and had its own deliberations and debates. In the division to which Hermann von

¹⁴ A. Baumgartner, "August Reichensperger" in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 58 (1900), 241 ff., 377 ff., 507ff.; 385-388 gives this great man's views on "Liberalism." The Fraction's "platform" is given in Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 106 ff. *passim*.

¹⁵ Cf. Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 111 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Mallinckrodt belonged, the debates went on for four hours. In a third ballot he was chosen as one of the committee members. Peter Reichensperger and another Catholic were also elected. Many worthy men were against the Raumer decrees and felt that the Catholics had grounds for complaint but thought they could not support Waldbott and Associates because of their own position in the government. Others wondered what effect a Catholic victory would have on the protestant population and on their standing in their own party. On January 16, the government's official paper declared that the Catholics misunderstood the decrees: they had been issued as secret instructions and had been divulged by a loose-tongued official. The minister in committee also gave soothing explanations and interpreted the decrees in so harmless a sense that Catholics were lulled into security. Mallinckrodt said that maybe the mountains were in labor to bring forth a mouse, but that then again the mouse might grow up to be an elephant after all. At any rate, the committee voted unfavorably by a vote of eleven to three and sent their report to the House.¹⁷

The debates opened in the House of Representatives on February 12, 1853. The session lasted from ten in the morning until a quarter to seven in the evening, and two motions to adjourn were voted down. Von Waldbott, August and Peter Reichensperger, Von Ketteler, Stolberg and Lingens were the Catholic speakers. The Liberals gave their best speakers in support. Von Gerlach, Bethmann-Hollweg, Von Raumer and von Westphalen spoke for the opposition. Since the Raumer decrees had in view especially the Jesuits, these latter were much discussed. Even von Gerlach and Bethmann-Hollweg spoke favorably of them, but Dr. Bayer attacked them in the old fashion.¹⁸ The Minister of Worship himself, van Raumer, said:

I should approach this matter with heavy heart and deep concern were I conscious that the rights of the Catholic Church, as they exist in Prussia, or the rights of the Catholic subjects of His Majesty the King, had been denied or violated. This would be a great blunder. It would be worse than that. It would be an injustice. But, thank God, it is not so. The government has violated no rights. It stands on the same ground of justice and righteousness to maintain these, yes, also where the Catholic Church is concerned, as it ever has. It considers itself in duty and honor bound to do so.¹⁹

¹⁷ Cf. Pfülf, *op. cit.*, 71 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 118.

Von Westphalen, Minister of the Interior, spoke in the same strain.

The decrees of May 22 and July 16, of the previous year, have many times been misunderstood. A fundamental error has prevailed in this matter which can only be corrected by observing how the government in Prussia has acted. It has never wished to restrict or infringe upon the rights of the Catholic Church in any way. These decrees are not correctly understood if one finds in them general declaratory ordinances added to the already existing laws, if one sees in them restrictive measures.²⁰

So the two men responsible for the decrees gave them a harmless interpretation. Von Gerlach stated that, as far as the decree of May 22 was concerned, it enjoined for Catholic missions in Protestant localities only the ordinary police surveillance required for any public meeting. The decree of July 16, he explained, merely says the central authorities, not provincial or local ones, must give the permission to study with the Jesuits in Rome and allow foreign Jesuits to make foundations in Prussia.²¹

All this profession of fairness to and equality of Catholics was a travesty of the facts and more than the Catholic leaders would take. Graf Stolberg rose and, after emphatically stating that the Catholics deeply resented the discrimination practiced against them, went on:

To cite only one example. We have whole provinces and administrative districts in which, from president-general to landrat, not one single Catholic holds an office. Take, for instance, this striking example: of 1227 officials in the administration from minister to landrat there are only 108 Catholics.

A book written in 1855 on the position of Catholics in Prussia supported this in detail.

The immediate entourage of the king, the court, and the king's cabinet, was made up exclusively of Evangelicals. The council of state which, not counting the princes of the royal house, numbers in all eighty-four members, has only six Catholics. All the ministers are Evangelical. Among the presidents-general of the seven provinces there is only one Catholic. Of the twenty-eight presidents of the ministry, one is a Catholic; there is no Catholic among the eight vice-presidents. Only nine of the sixty-eight high councillors of state are Catholics. Of the 382 councillors of the government, only forty-eight are Catholic, of the 329 landrats, only fifty.²²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 114 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, 119, 132, 133.

And this is a Prussia two-fifths Catholic! Peter Reichensperger also took up the cudgels in behalf of equal rights for Catholics. In a calm, factual address two hours long, August Reichensperger warmly defended the Jesuits and called the decree of May 22 without foundation, unconstitutional and a "Law of Insinuation." The decree of July 16, he called "a *Novum* which is based on no law and has the constitution against it."²³ It was clear that the Catholic Representatives were not so naive as to be deceived by the artful interpretation of the opposition.

At the end of the long session the vote was taken. The Catholic Fraction lost the battle. The *Antrag Waldbott* was voted down 175 to 123. Allowing about fifty votes to the Fraction, seventy-three other members voted for the measure. Doubtless, the official interpretation of the decrees that seemed to make of them harmless things had much to do with the result. It was really a victory for the Catholics. They were now a well-organized, powerful minority to be reckoned with. Nor was the majority by which the bill was defeated by any means overwhelming. A shift of only twenty-four votes would have passed a measure declaring official decrees of the ministry unconstitutional. This was a loud warning to the government to respect the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the Church in future. And it did for many years. Missions flourished and the Jesuits did much good work. Only with the *Kulturkampf* some twenty years later were the Jesuits expelled and Articles 15, 16 and 18 of the constitution deleted.²⁴

The Catholic Fraction soon had another chance for a trial of strength. This matter dealt with finances. The Prussian government was obligated by the Bull *De Salute Animarum* of July 16, 1821, accepted by a Cabinet Order of August 23, 1821, to endow Catholic

²³ Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 347 ff. Cf. also Baumgartner, *loc. cit.*, 383. It is clear why Bismarck could say: "Long before 1871 the group led by the two Reichenspergers was already permanently attached to the opposition against the government of the Protestant dynasty, though its leaders did not on that account incur the personal stigma of being called disturbers of the peace." Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1899, 2 vols.), II, 149.

²⁴ Cf. Brück, *op. cit.*, 3, 69. — The Jesuits were expelled from the German Empire July 4, 1872. Articles 15, 16, and 18 were suppressed June 18, 1875 by an act of the Prussian Landtag.

The Catholic members of the First Chamber appealed directly to the King along the lines of the *Antrag Waldbott* but with no results.

For a very forthright statement of the anti-minority spirit still alive in Prussia see note 32 below.

bishoprics and other Catholic institutions. The Imperial Recess of February 25, 1803, had been along the same lines.²⁵ These obligations were not fulfilled. The Catholics had further grounds for complaint in that, whereas the Evangelical church was lavishly supported by state funds, their own reasonable requests went for the most part unheeded. In the Rhineland, heavily Catholic, the few Protestants were well taken care of and the Catholics got little. Catholic schools, orphanages, etc., were sorely needed.²⁶ As the state of the public finances at the time was poor, the Catholics were reluctant to ask for state aid. But when in 1852 the Evangelicals put out a brochure asking for an increased endowment of 274,000 thalers and based their request on false pretences²⁷ the Catholics could not remain mute. March 9, 1853, Representative Franz Otto of Duesseldorf brought in a measure (*Antrag Otto und Genossen*) asking that at least part of the funds stipulated in the *De Salute Animarum* be forthcoming.²⁸ The ministry fought the proposal with might and main. It proposed, however, that "for the time being" the Protestant church be given an aid of 50,000 thalers. A committee of fourteen appointed to consider this voted it down.²⁹ However, the Second Chamber finally passed the bill by a vote of 190 to 100. Next year, February 16, 1854, Otto brought back his bill in much modified form. It failed. On February 5, 1855, the matter was taken up in the House a third time. Again it was voted down.³⁰

The Catholic Fraction, then, was alert and fighting and the Church carried on its spiritual activity in missions and schools with great success and comparative freedom, but with little government support. Naturally enough, the Catholics' sense of justice was deeply wounded by the event. Yet, the leaders in ministry and House went on asserting that the Catholics in Prussia were being justly treated and

²⁵ Pertinent clauses of the Imperial Recess are printed in Mirbt, *op. cit.*, 422 ff. The whole of the *De Salute Animarum* is in *Bullarii Romani Continuatio* (Romae, ex typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1835-1857, 19 vols.), XV, 403-415.

²⁶ In 1863 there were in Posen, two-thirds Catholics, four Protestant and three overcrowded Catholic *gymnasias*, five Protestant and no Catholic *realschulen*. Cf. Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 133.

²⁷ Cf. Brück, *op. cit.*, III, 70 ff.

²⁸ Cf. Pfülf, *op. cit.*, 73 ff. for many financial details.

²⁹ Cf. Brück, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

³⁰ Otto collapsed at the beginning of a speech in a full session of the House March 17, 1857. He was removed to an adjoining room and anointed by the priest Representative Thissen. He died in an hour. The session broke up. Cf. Bachem, *op. cit.*, 2, 145.

enjoying equality before the law, that their constitutionally guaranteed rights were not being violated! But what the government really was doing, was carrying out the program indicated by Professor Dr. O. Meyer of Königsberg, an orthodox Lutheran, in a memorial written in 1848 on "the freedom of the church in Germany and the future Catholic party." Fair treatment of Catholics as was given, for instance, in Belgium would be, he said, "a danger to the young freedom in the German state as well as to the old German freedom of the Evangelical church." The power of the Catholic Church was not in the German spirit but was a Romish power. The German priest is clothed with the individualism and nationalism of his Church and dominated by the interests of his Church. Behind the priest stands the fanatical crowd of the faithful.³¹ Nor had the dominant Prussian attitude changed with the issuing of the constitution. Right at this very time, March 17, 1853, an outstanding Protestant leader, von Gerlach, could write:

The Roman Catholic debates clearly show that equality in the state is impossible. *The state must be identified with the church.* Those hostile to it can be tolerated only within certain limits. It is that way already in fact. The six million Catholics have a proportionally small share in the authority and government of the state as compared with the ten million Protestants. And how few there are of these ten million, again, who make up the ruling caste!

The duty of the state is to increase the already dominant portion of its inhabitants and to diminish the minority: to Germanize the Poles, and Protestantize the Catholics.³²

The party of the *Gebrueder Reichensperger*, as the *Kreuzzeitung*, a leading paper of the opposition, called it, was for equality for all, regardless of creed or race. It therefore consistently did battle for equal rights for Jews, too, even in the Rhine province and Westphalia, although some of the Catholic nobility would not agree to this. These latter thought it an irreconcilable contradiction that members of the Jewish race should hold office in a Christian state.³³ Yet, since the beginning of the century, laws had been passed giving

³¹ Joannes B. Kissling, *Der deutsche Protestantismus 1817-1917* (Münster i. W., Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, 1917, 1918, 2 vols.), I, 352 ff.

³² Quoted in Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 128. Italics added.

³³ On the position of the Catholic nobility in this matter cf. Bachem, *op. cit.*, 130 ff. Some light is thrown on civil rights for Jews in Prussia in Otto Pfülf, *Bischof von Ketteler* (Mainz, Franz Kirchheim, 1899, 3 vols.), I, 39 ff.

them civic rights in Prussia, and Article 4 of the Constitution of 1850 stated: "All Prussians are equal before the law. . . . Public offices are . . . open to all those properly qualified." Hermann von Mallinckrodt, himself of the nobility, accordingly "bolted" and, backed by the Fraction, fought for and won equality and independence for the Jews in the Rhine province in 1853. The next year Peter Reichensperger did battle for them in Westphalia. This was logical and practical. If Jews could be barred from office in a Prussian state, why could not Catholics be barred in a Protestant state?³⁴

In the 1855 elections to the Second Chamber the Catholic Fraction lost two seats, bringing their number down to fifty-one. The House was now about seventy-five per cent for the ministry which leaned towards reaction. The Fraction stood firmly with the Liberals, more and more emphasizing the political rather than the religious element, working in the interests of minorities and for the preservation of the constitution, for a free press and union of all the German-speaking states. It was fighting as hard for the rights of the Evangelical church and the Jews, as for its own. The endeavor at this time of the two Reichenspergers to drop the name "Catholic Fraction" and adopt a short political program failed.³⁵

In the legislative period 1855-1858 the Fraction kept up a vigorous activity. It insisted on greater equality for Catholics in the field of education, and that the state give the funds justly due the institutions of the Church. But the greatest controversy was on divorce. The Catholics protested any government action on this matter as against Article 12 of the constitution. Divorce was against the fundamental rights of the Catholic Church. The motion that the divorce issue be left to the authorities of the individual churches was thrown out February 23, 1857. Rhoden's proposal to bar civil action in Catholic marriage cases was rejected March 2. Mallinckrodt and Otto³⁶ strenuously opposed divorce, too. These men based their arguments on the constitution, on the principles of religious freedom and civil equality, on their rights as free men in the Prussian state. They won the confidence of their constituents, whatever else may have come of their efforts. And the Evangelical state was hurt by the divorce discussions.³⁷

³⁴ Hermann von Mallinckrodt's intense activity in the battle for equality in the state is given in detail in Pfülf, *op. cit.*, 61 ff.

³⁵ Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 425, 442.

³⁶ Cf. Pfülf, *op. cit.*, 130 ff.

³⁷ This whole 1855-1858 legislative period is summarily covered by Bachem, *op. cit.*, II, 143-152.

The life of the Catholic Fraction was drawing to a close. Yet its strength increased by reason of the new elections November 12 and 23, 1858. Its membership rose to 57. The Liberals gained, too, and the days of the *Landratskammer* were over. The power of reaction in the old sense of the word was broken. Catholics supported Liberal candidates in places where they themselves had none.

Now began the Liberal "New Era." The ministry Manteuffel-Westphalen-Raumer was gone. The prince-regent, to be King William I, after taking over the regency for the sick king October 7, 1858, had, even before the elections October 31, called in the Liberal ministry of Prince Karl Anton von Hohenzollern. What with the victory of the Liberals, this ministry had solid ground under its feet after the election."³⁸

The Prince was backed by both Liberals and Catholics. But the Liberals, now having a majority and not needing the Catholic Fraction's support any longer, shied away from the "Catholic" party. Some members of the Fraction had long wanted a change of name. This, together with power brought to bear from high places, after a contest effected the change. The name was a compromise: The Fraction of the Center or the Catholic Fraction (*Fraktion des Zentrums, Katholische Fraktion*). It adopted new statutes signed January 17, 1859, by 58 members. The *Center* or the *Catholic* in the name could be emphasized according as occasion demanded.³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.* 153.

³⁹ The statutes of the recast party may be found *ibid.*, 218.

THE REFORM ACTIVITIES OF DENIS THE CARTHUSIAN (1402-1471)

By Richard H. Trame*

The century between the end of the Council of Constance (1417) and the beginning of Martin Luther's revolt against the Catholic Church (1517) witnessed an onrushing flood of heresy, pagan revivals, and Mohammedan conquests which threatened to engulf Christendom. Despite attempted reforms by various Popes and Councils throughout the turbulent century, many of the clergy were shamefully avaricious, lax, and worldly. Similar vices flourished among princes and rulers, who, by their luxurious living and broils within their own realms and with one another, invited the invasion into Europe of the devastating Turkish armies.

The harassed Church, however, by her ever-present vitality, produced many learned and holy men who strove against this swelling tide. Zeal for the rejuvenation of monastic and clerical discipline and for the spiritual renewal of the laity fired the reforming activities of men like Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, the Dominicans Saint Antoninus of Florence and Blessed Giovanni Dominici, and the Franciscan Saints John Capistran and Bernardine of Siena. In the Low Countries, the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life spread the mystical heritage of Blessed John Ruysbroek and the popular New Devotion that sprang from the immortal *Imitation of Christ* of Gerard Groote and Thomas à Kempis.

From the Low Countries also there came an unexpected source of opposition to the destructive forces working against the Church and European unity — unexpected, because it radiated from a secluded monk's cell in Roermond. From that cell a humble Carthusian, Denis of Ryckel, exerted on society a revivifying influence which diffused itself through the Burgundian dominions and out across Europe to the very chambers of the Sovereign Pontiff, Eugene IV.¹

* Richard H. Trame, S.J., is at present at Alma College, Alma, Calif. Materials for this article were gathered while the author was engaged in his graduate work in history at the Catholic University of America.

¹ Eugene IV upon receiving Denis' *Letter to Catholic Princes* became acquainted with the Carthusian's efforts to urge all Christian princes to embark on a Crusade against the Turks and to stimulate Churchmen to undertake needed reforms. This and subsequent letters were written as a result of three supernatural revelations which Denis claimed to have received concerning the evils of Christian society. *Opera Omnia Dionysii Cartusiani* (42 Vols.; Montreuil-sur-mer: Tournai: Typis Carthusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis, 1896-1913), XXXVI, 501-524.

About most of the chief problems of his day Denis possessed first-hand information, and in the one hundred and eighty-seven treatises he composed we can read his close analysis and proposed remedy for nearly every one of them. Yet for all his activity in fighting the evils of his time, his accomplishments and writings are today almost unknown to American students. This paper, therefore, recounts several incidents in the career of Denis the Carthusian, incidents which reveal in terms of living persons some of the obstacles besetting the Church in the fifteenth Century.

Obscurity of origin and birthplace is not an uncommon feature in the lives of important medieval men. In Denis' case, however, we are fortunate to possess from his own pen and from that of his principal biographer, Theodore Loer of Hoogstraeten,² important fragments of information concerning his early years and education. He was born in 1402 to moderately well-to-do parents in one of the sixteen houses comprising the hamlet of Ryckel. So insignificant was this place that Loer felt constrained to mention that it was situated half way between the more thriving centers of St. Trond and Looz in the Belgium Limbourg. He was baptized Henry Denis van Leeuwen, and along with a brother and two sisters was raised in solidly Christian surroundings.³

Living at a time when the Netherlands was studded with choice religious schools he "almost as an infant who had not yet reached

² Most references in this paper are taken from four works. Those of autobiographic nature come principally from Denis' *De munificentis et beneficiis Dei* (*Opera Omnia*, Vol. XXXIV) Article 26, and from his few surviving letters (*Opera Omnia*, Vol. XLI). Principal biographic works are the following: *Vita beatae memoriae Dionysii Cartusiani, Auctore Theodorico Loer a Stratis, vicario Cartusiae Coloniae* (*Opera Omnia Dionysii*, I, xxiii-xxvii); D.A. Mougel, *Denys le Chartreux, 1402-1471, sa vie, son rôle* (Montreuil-sur-mer: Imprimerie de la Chartreuse de Notre Dame des Prés, 1896; German edition, Muelheim, 1898); Welters, "Denys le Chartreux, sa vie et ses oeuvres," *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Duché de Limbourg*, XIV (1882), 209-370. Loer's biography furnishes the chief source of our information. He was officially chosen by the Carthusian general chapter to write Denis' life and had the opportunity of verifying many of the facts by the testimony of some who had personally known Denis. In addition, Loer had access to letters and writings of Denis which are now lost. Therefore, though it does not satisfy modern standards of scholarship, this biography written in 1534 has been considered by all subsequent biographers as the chief work on the great Carthusian.

³ Mougel alone (*op. cit.*, 3) gives the brother's name as John. Denis tells us he composed his *On the Praiseworthy Life of Widows* (*Opera Omnia*, XXXVIII, 122) for his two widowed sisters. Their names, however, remain hidden.

the use of reason," had no trouble finding a satisfactory place, the Benedictine abbey-school at St. Trond, for beginning the trivium. Unlike most small boys, Denis enjoyed studying and going to school. He relates that on occasions when the light of the moon awakened him he would have arisen and trudged off to St. Trond had locked doors not barred his way.⁴ When he was thirteen a new professor seems to have misconstrued a rather simple Latin phrase so thoroughly that Denis concluded it was time for him to leave the school and seek greener pastures.

The "more distant regions" to which he traveled probably meant the Dutch town, Zwolle, where the school conducted by the Brethren of the Common Life was directed by the saintly and eminent scholar Johann Cele.⁵ While there Denis decided to become a Carthusian monk. At the age of eighteen he applied for admittance, first at the Charterhouse of St. John the Baptist at Zelhem near Diest, and upon refusal of his request there, at that of Our Lady of Bethlehem in Roermond. The prior of this monastery, Dom Albert Buez, recognized a true vocation in the anxious young man before him, but he advised him to complete his education by mastering theology before he could be received at the canonical age of twenty-one.⁶

Docile to Dom Albert's sage advice, Denis set out for Cologne, to enter the greatest and most renowned of medieval German universities. There he studied philosophy, theology, civil and canon law, and Holy Scripture. The change from the quiet of monastic schools to the boisterous vigor of university life in a great city prompted Denis in later years to advise young scholars ominously: "That just as much lamentable perversion and corruption grows and flourishes in other states of life, ranks, and orders within the Church, it is likewise dangerous for chaste and devout young men to attend those univer-

⁴Mougel, *op. cit.*, 9, 10. *De munificentis et beneficiis Dei*, Article 26.

⁵Stanislaus Autore, "Denys le Chartreux" *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris: Létouzey et Ané, 1911), IV, 436-443, and E Gurdon, "Denys the Carthusian" *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Appleton Co., 1908), IV, 734-736. These authors offer no authority for their statement. Mougel (*op. cit.*, 56) and earlier authors maintain that the school was at Deventer. Denis himself says only that he went to "more distant regions."

⁶Loer, *op. cit.*, xxiv; Mougel, *op. cit.*, 12. Dom Albert is described as a "most respected man . . . greatly expert in spiritual things, peaceful and filled with outstanding piety." Dr. Vasseur, *Ephemerides ordinis cartusiensis*, March 12, (Monstrolii: Typis Cartusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis, 1890). The Roermond foundation was made in 1376, and at Denis' time was small and poor, but was blest from its beginnings with priors of great wisdom and zeal for the rule. Cf. Welters, *op cit.*, Chapter 1.

sities.”⁷ He seems, however, to have survived the dangers of “perversion and corruption” at Cologne, for after three years (1423) he took his degree of Master of Arts,⁸ returned to Roermond, and put on the white habit of a Carthusian novice.

The various incidents of Denis’ career which more particularly interest us in this essay, begin some twenty years after his entrance into religious life. About the intervening decades we have only Loer’s assertions that Denis devoted much time to study, made great progress in the spiritual life, practiced austere penances possible only to a man with an “iron head and brass stomach,” and attained to mystical union in prayer.⁹ We know that he began in 1434 to write his first work, a commentary on the Psalms.¹⁰

In a treatise entitled *On the Particular Judgment*, Denis relates that during this early period of his religious life he was visited by the souls of the dead.¹¹ One vision in particular that has come down to us contains a vivid example of clerical avarice connected with multiplicity of benefices. The account is given in two letters of 1443 and 1444 which he addressed to three priests, John Tollner, canon and guardian of Spires, Christian of Erpel, pastor of the church of Blessed Mary ad Gradus in Cologne, and John Pollart, pastor of the Church of the Holy Spirit at Roermond, all executors of the will of a certain priest, John of Louvain, dead since 1438.¹² Denis narrates his vision to them, because he desires “out of his love of God and his neighbour and in obedience to his prior” to warn them of their danger. After protesting to them with many a scriptural quotation on humility, that he would have preferred to allow his experience to remain hidden, he declares:

⁷ *Inter Jesum et puerum dialogus*, Article 4 (*Opera Omnia* XXXVIII, 135).

⁸ Mougél, *op. cit.*, 14 f., lists his professors as Jacques de Sweyre, O.P.; Rutgerus Overbach, professor of exegesis; Theodore of Munster, the chancellor, and Gerard Terstegen, professor of Philosophy. Cf. Hartsheim, *Bibliotheca Colonial* (Cologne, 1747). The influence of Gerard Terstegen is reflected in Denis’ thesis concerning which he wrote, “In my youth while I was instructed in the method and way of Thomas (Aquinas) I rather felt that essence and existence were really distinct, and so at that time I wrote a certain little treatise on that question, which I wish I still had, for I would correct it. For with more diligent consideration, I have concluded that it is more true and probable that essence and existence do not differ from each other.” *In Sententiarum libros*, t.I, D. VIII, q. VII (*Opera Omnia*, Vol. XIX).

⁹ Loer, *op. cit.*, xxvi, xxx-xxxi. *De munificentis etc.* Art. 26.

¹⁰ Mougél, *op. cit.*, 27 ff.

¹¹ *Opera Omnia*, XLI, 419. Loer states (*op. cit.*, xxxiv ff.) that Denis claimed he was visited by “hundreds and hundreds” of the souls of the dead.

¹² *Epistolae* I, II (*Opera Omnia*, XLI, 609-615).

In the middle of our choir, as you know, lies Master John of Louvain, of happy memory, already five years deceased. Now three years after his death, while the anniversary Office of the Dead was being recited in our choir . . . suddenly I saw with my own eyes in broad daylight a great and horrible fire, dense and red, formed like a bier and coming out of the air above the tomb of Master John and appearing around and outside the glass window high in the wall directly opposite me on the side of the previously mentioned sepulcher.¹³

Startled, Denis called to the assembled brethren to look at the fire, but they "lifting up their eyes" saw nothing. Accordingly since he alone perceived this phenomenon, which lasted "about the time it takes to say a moderately long psalm," he concluded that the symbolic apparition of John's sufferings carried with it something of special import for him. Yet he was uncertain whether John was damned or only condemned to the "remedial torments" of Purgatory. "On the one hand," he relates, "the thought came to me that appearances of this type are accustomed to portend something good, while on the other hand I feared the opposite when I considered the deceased's plurality of benefices, negotiations,¹⁴ and wealth." Therefore, while his doubt concerning John's real condition lasted, he did not pray much more for his soul than he had previously.

In the two years following, however, on the same anniversary and at the same moment as in the first apparition, Denis had the same experience, but with this difference that in each succeeding vision the flames grew less dense and red, indicating that John's torments were decreasing. At this point in his letters (he relates the apparition in both), Denis reproaches the executors for not having applied John's wealth to the purposes prescribed by the will.

The first letter of 1443 did not achieve the desired effect. The chief executor, John Tollner, had resigned his office on May 7, 1439, because he could not reside in Rome to prosecute the litigation over the will in the Papal Curia, and because he had no power to carry out the will's provisions. Since the case had dragged on for five years without solution, Denis felt obliged to send a similar letter in 1444 to Tollner's successor, Christian of Erpel. According to the editors of the new edition of Denis' writings, Christian carried through the suit at Rome, and then in conformity with the directions of the will

¹³ *Ibid.*, 610.

¹⁴ "*practicorum*"; seemingly here it refers to negotiations of an uncanonical character. Italics mine.

completed at Roermond a monastery of Regulars dedicated to St. Jerome.¹⁵

Nevertheless, considerable vagueness still covers the whole affair. Denis records that although John of Louvain "had many good points in that he found no relish in the pleasures of taste and touch as so many (prelates) did, and that he loved and was anxious to promote the common welfare of the Church, even using his wealth to encourage spiritual works," still the salient point of both letters was to warn the executors of the greed, so common among ecclesiastics of the time, which had caused John's downfall. Were these executors anxious to pocket John's wealth and secure his benefices? Why was this local litigation brought all the way to Rome? Denis does not inform us, but his lesson to the executors is clear. Many benefices, illegal negotiations, and much wealth are a serious obstacle to the salvation of otherwise virtuous clerics.¹⁶

Hardly better than John of Louvain's was the canonical observance of other clergymen in the diocese of Liege. In September of 1451 Denis was invited to join the suite of his friend, the reforming Cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa. The Cardinal had been commissioned a Papal Legate by Pope Nicholas V in December, 1450, in order to publish the indulgence of the Jubilee year, and to labor within the Empire "for the reformation of churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical places, and the persons living in them."¹⁷ After having settled a dispute between the Archbishop of Cologne and the clergy (Duke)¹⁸ of Cleves who had refused to pay certain subsidies demanded by the Archbishop, Nicholas proceeded through Aix-la-Chapelle, Harkenrode, St. Trond, and Maestricht, where he proclaimed the Indulgence and visited monasteries. On October 13, 1451, the legate was triumphantly received by the clergy of Liege who had invited him to visit them. Unfortunately they did not retain their sentiments of cordiality

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 609, 611, 612. The information is taken from P. Dorland, *Chronicon Cartusiense* (Cologne; Petrus Cholinum, 1608), Bk. VII, Ch. XXII, XXIII.

¹⁶ Denis has a treatise on plurality of benefices. Cf. *Contra pluralitatem beneficiorum ex dictis authenticis* (*Opera Omnia*, XXXIX, 243-283). This work is a compilation of quotations from medieval theologians, canonists, and Councils against the evil. No specific examples are offered of individual offenders.

¹⁷ Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (St. Louis: B. Herder & Co., 1895) II, 106. He states that the authorization to proclaim the Jubilee Indulgence is wanting, but in Appendix No. 6, he quotes two sections from the Bull of appointment found in the archives of the Vatican, Reg. 391, f. 17.

¹⁸ Pastor (*op. cit.*, 106) says that the dispute was between the Archbishop and the Duke of Cleves. Mougél (*op. cit.*, 58) states that it was between the Archbishop and the clergy of Cleves.

and respect when they learned of the impending general reform of the diocese. Their apprehensions aroused, they informed the cardinal in a conference next day that they had invited him as a friend and not as a legate. Bitter words were exchanged between them, but Nicholas would not relent in his plans. He withdrew the Jubilee Indulgence, shook the dust of the city from his feet, and retired to a neighbouring Charterhouse. Denis personally witnessed all this, but could do nothing except console his friend, who, when further negotiations proved futile, finally quit the region.¹⁹

It was only to be expected that the clergy of Liege would resist reform when we consider the evil example given them by their Prince-Bishop, John VIII of Heinsberg, who was simultaneously a duke, a marquis, a count, and the fifty-second successor to the wealthy and powerful See of Liege.²⁰ The record of his encounter with Denis is narrated in Loer's biography of the Carthusian.²¹ John, a man "well suited for this world, more so than became a bishop," had a passion for staging magnificent spectacles, tournaments, and other types of military games, which on a particular occasion he attempted to introduce into "pious Roermond." While he was preparing everything necessary for the pageant and awaiting the arrival of the noble courtiers he had invited, his curiosity was aroused by the fame of Denis' holiness, and he decided to pay a visit to the nearby Charterhouse.

During his conversation with Denis, the bishop "did not blush to boast of the great wealth he expended to organize these military exhibitions and of the work he sustained in undertaking and furthering so magnificently these noble exploits." In the face of such proud self-esteem, Denis felt compelled to recall this negligent prelate to

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Three months later in January, 1452, the clergy repented and begged the Cardinal on his way from Brussels to Cologne to pardon them. In February and March 1452, Denis witnessed the synod of reform conducted by Nicholas at Cologne. For the decrees cf. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, trad. Dom H. Leclercq (Paris: Létouzey et Ané, 1916), VII, 1223-1227.

²⁰ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1922), II, 492. The diocese of Liege at this period of Denis' meeting with John was very extensive, being bounded on the north by the diocese of Utrecht, on the east by that of Cologne, on the south by those of Trier and Rheims, on the west by that of Cambrai. The Prince-Bishops date from Bishop Notger (972-1008) and their status remained until the French Revolution. Roermond at this period was subject to Liege, but became a bishopric in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Liege," "Roermond" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, xxxii f. In Denis' own list of his writings (*Opera Omnia*, I, lxxix, No. 172) is found "A Letter to the Bishop of Liege, John of Heinsberg" which is now lost.

his sacred duties. In vain did he remonstrate that even though military spectacles could be tolerated among secular princes, such amusements were "wholly unworthy of ecclesiastics" and that it was "sinful to squander the patrimony of Christ on them." John of Heinsberg replied that he was perfectly acquainted with the prescriptions of canon law prohibiting tournaments to clerics, but he justified his undertakings on the score that he was a secular prince. Unmoved, Denis countered with arguments demonstrating clearly that in John's particular vocation all rights and duties belonging to him as duke, marquis, and count were totally subordinated to those of his episcopal dignity. The office of bishop in its turn demanded first and foremost that he "care for the Lord's flock, save souls from the snares of the devil, feed with the Word of God the sheep committed to his care, guide the erring, . . . and show by the example of a good life the road to be followed."

Disregarding completely Denis' sound counsel, the bishop departed, "not only full of indignation but still clinging to his plans." Denis, however, was not to be so easily overcome. If the prelate scorned his advice, he would seek God's assistance in prayer. God was not slow to answer his entreaties, "for, soon after the bishop departed and even before he reached his house, he was seized with excruciating pains of gout." As a consequence, his excellency was compelled with great loss of prestige, honor, and gold to cancel all his imposing preparations. Furthermore, in proportion as the pains in his feet subsided, his wrath against his Carthusian admonitor waxed hotter, and as soon as he could walk he hurried back to the monastery and "lashed Denis with stinging words for having inflicted on him such ignominy and suffering."

Denis, however, had not seen the last of the unrepentant churchman. Bishop John died October 19, 1459.²² While praying for the repose of his soul after Matins on the Feast of St. Catherine, November 25, probably of that same year, Denis, according to Loer, beheld in vision the bishop led forth before him by "two most horrible spirits of gigantic stature surrounded by leaping flames." These spirits said to him, "Behold your lord for whom you pray." Scrutinizing his lordship's phantom Denis saw around the stomach and loins "an immense multitude of serpents and toads eating away at this miserable one," a sign that besides his unbecoming practices, this worldling had been a defiler of women and virgins and was now condemned to the torments of Hell.

²² Pirenne, *op. cit.*

Certain details in Loer's account of this Flemish ecclesiastic might seem to us melodramatic and naive if it were not for his sobering statement of fact that even in his day, some seventy years after the incident he relates, "many prelates are found very similar to this bishop." In Loer's own city shortly after he wrote this biography, Archbishop Hermann von Wied shocked the Catholics of Cologne with his attempts to introduce theological innovations and Lutheranism into his electorate.²³ However, Loer's assertions need no confirmation. Anyone acquainted with the corruption found among many secular-minded bishops, even after the devastating upheaval of the Protestant Revolt, knows that nothing succeeded in recalling them to their pastoral duties, duties so firmly and clearly outlined by Denis in his unsuccessful attempt to bring the recalcitrant John of Heinsberg to his senses.

On one occasion, at least, Denis enjoyed more success as a counselor of secular princes. In 1458 a certain Prince Adolphe with the aid of the town of Nymwegen rose in revolt against his father, Duke Arnold of Guelderland. The duke pursued his son and besieged him in the fortress of Venloo. After four bitter months, Adolphe begged aid from William of Egmont and also sought the advice of his friend, Denis. Loer further narrates that "a certain duke" asked Denis to seek from God the success of his arms against his rebel son.²⁴ Denis has left us his course of action.²⁵ He sent a letter to both father and son in which he regretted the family strife and prayed that neither father nor son would stain his hands with the other's blood. He recounted that during the night he prayed for them an angel appeared and authorized him to reprimand the duke and his son for their impious actions and to warn them of the terrible afflictions which their territories would suffer if they, the clergy, and all the people did not mend their ways. His words have the ring of an ancient Hebrew prophet warning a monarch of Israel.

The holy angel of God stood by me and showed me the crimes of the people of this land, the transgressions of the mighty and of prelates, and the murmurings of the evil enemy who by a thousand arts seeks ways of harming you in order to stir you up, tramp you under

²³ Cf. Brodrick, S.J., *St. Peter Canisius, S.J.* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1935), Chapter II: "An Archbishop becomes a Heretic."

²⁴ Pirenne, *op. cit.* Welters, *op. cit.*, 289, gives a good account, taken from the ecclesiastical history of Guelders by Knippenbargh, and from the archives of the town of Guelders. Mougel, *op. cit.*, 51 f. completes the account.

²⁵ *Epistolae, Opera Omnia*, XLI, 617 f. Loer, *op. cit.*, xxxii.

foot, and depopulate this whole land. By God's just judgment this land shall be given over into the hands of the wicked unless you strive to appease Him and avert His avenging hand by works of penance and piety.²⁶

The letter effected a reconciliation. Welters in his biography states that William of Egmont, together with the Duchess of Cleves and Denis negotiated the satisfactory Covenant of Batenburg, October 13, 1459. By it Adolphe secured the castle, city, and county of Nymwegen, but as a penance for his rebellion he had to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.²⁷

In addition to these few striking episodes of his life which have survived, Denis' numerous treatises for the guidance of bishops, archdeacons, canons, pastors, scholars, princes and princesses, nobles, the married, virgins, widows, prisoners, merchants, and soldiers²⁸ reveal his concern over the many disorders in the Church and civil society. His journey of inspection and reform with Nicholas of Cusa through the Rhineland and the Netherlands furnished him with firsthand experience of the decay of religious life and canonical observance in many monasteries and among the diocesan clergy. His reputation as a peacemaker and sound counselor, Loer states, brought many princes and prelates, the high-born and the lowly to his cell seeking advice. During the years 1456 to 1459, when he was in charge of the temporal affairs of his monastery, these visits became so numerous that his life as a solitary was practically destroyed and he requested to be relieved of this burden. Consequently, he was well aware of the obstacles which beset each class of society, and his writings attempt to supply the Christian remedy and the motivation to sweep aside all deterrents.

Yet, if we prescind from his success or failure in reforming individuals and classes of society through personal interview or by his writings, what remains amazing in Denis' career is the fruitfulness of his life as a Carthusian. He was able to maintain his spiritual seclusion from the world even when he was placed by circumstances in its

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Welters, *op. cit.*, 292. He states that the archives of the town of Guelders for the year 1459 which he examined show that three Carthusians, the priors of Roermond and of Gaesdonk, and "a procurator of Roermond" aided in negotiating the peace. Since no mention was ever made that Denis was a prior at Roermond, it seems certain that he was the procurator mentioned. Loer states (*op. cit.*, xxxii) that the people of Guelders referred to Denis as the "man who spoke with an angel."

²⁸ These treatises are found in the *Opera Omnia*, Volumes XXXVII-XXXIX.

midst; he gained a reputation for learning and holiness;²⁹ and still he was able to compose many useful treatises touching the vital problems of his restless age. Denis well merited the encomium of Pope Eugene IV: "The Church rejoices to possess such a son."

²⁹ The *Acta Sanctorum* (March 12) applies the title "Venerable" to Denis. His learning was truly prodigious. For example, in his *Protestatio ad Superiorem (Opera Omnia, I, lxxi f.)* he says that of commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, he read those of St. Thomas, St. Albert, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentum, Giles of Rome, Richard of Middleton, Durandus, and others.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Historians and their Craft, by Herman Ausubel. Columbia University Press, New York, 1950. pp. 373. \$4.75.

In this Columbia University Study, Ausubel presents, to use his sub-title, "A Study of the Presidential Addresses of the American Historical Association, 1884-1945." He considers such topics as the Usefulness of History, History as Literature, and the Content of History, all as treated by the various personalities who have presided over the American Historical Association.

Author Ausubel points up the fact that many of the AHA presidents have stressed the "immediate usefulness" of history. Many of them regarded the study of the past as their occupation, but found the present their preoccupation. Some of them indeed left their "ivory towers" to the extent of becoming doctrinaire on matters of the moment, such as immigration or war-time patriotism.

In compiling and interpreting the addresses of the AHA leaders, Dr. Ausubel has underscored one notable fact; *viz.*, historians do not fit into a mold, but rather differ appreciably one from another. This is true as to their philosophy of history and, within reasonable limits, their techniques. Anyone recalling the honest and sincere differences that exist at Association meetings will be struck with the suggestion that these differences are of long standing.

A handling of the activities of the Association Presidents from Andrew White to Carlton Hayes is a difficult, because diversified, subject. Ausubel has integrated the subject rather well, and has shown a certain skill in avoiding abrupt transitions.

Historians and their Craft is the type of book for which an index is almost a necessity. Fortunately, it does have an adequate index. The bibliography, likewise, is an adequate one.

Clifford J. Reutter, University of Detroit.

England Before Elizabeth, by Helen Cam. Hutchinson's University Library, London. pp. ix, 184. 1950. \$2.00.

This brief volume deals with the long period of English history

before 1558 in only 162 pages of text, with 22 pages of chronological tables, maps and index. It is a welcome volume and will be deservedly popular. It is something more than a conventional textbook. Political narrative is reduced to the minimum, and there is a rich background of economics, literature, and law. As we should expect, Miss Cam is particularly illuminating in such matters. History, for her, has always been a rich field covering many aspects of life; and her catholicity of interest is reflected in the difficult problem of selection which confronted her in this work.

The key-note of the volume is the continuity of English life: "The country gentleman who met his fellow justices of the peace at quarter sessions (in the days of Elizabeth) . . . was the heir to the traditions not only of the knights who fought at Crecy, but of the suitors of the shire court who had stood up to the king's sheriff under Henry III and who had reported the customs of the shire to William The Conqueror." Lords and commoners alike inherited the product of centuries of effort and achievement. Elizabeth, we might add, took an oath of office very similar to that which King Edgar had taken in 973.

No country has a more inspiring story of creative living, in which the foundations were laid for some of the distinctive ideas and practices of the modern democratic way of life. It is a pity, perhaps, that Miss Cam did not find a little more space for the supreme achievement of all, that of building the outline of the modern national state on the basis of political liberty; though to criticise such a volume as this on the grounds of omission is probably gratuitous.

Nevertheless, it has to be said that the brevity of the story has at times caused gaps, particularly in the political narratives, which are a little disconcerting; and it has caused one or two questionable assertions which are quite clearly due only to compression, such as a possible confusion between Arthur and Ambrosius Aurelianus on p. 23, or the description of William of Wykeham as an "adherent" of Alice Perrers on p. 156. Others, such as the description of Roman Britain as "never re-garrisoned" after 306, or the execution of Peter Gavetson "without trial" in 1312, could be mentioned; but in general Miss Cam moves with both precision and speed through all the intricacies of medieval problems. She never, except perhaps in her treatment of the medieval king's household as an instrument of politics, takes up a position which is not highly judicious and defensible.

In short, Professor Cam has provided a book which combines extreme brevity with a host of other virtues. It will no doubt find its

way into the hands of many grateful readers, particularly of those who want something a little off the beaten path, like the chapter on the unification of the English language. Few will fail to get from it some feeling of the rich legacy of the past.

B. Wilkinson, University of Toronto.

The Metropolitan Visitations of William Courteney, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396. Documents transcribed from Mss. of Courteney's Register with an introduction describing the Archbishop's investigations by J. H. Dahmus. Illinois. University of Illinois Press. 1950. pp. 209. \$2.00 paper. \$3.00 cloth.

This volume (XXXI no. 2) in the *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* is one which should be of considerable help to graduate students and teachers of seminars in the "Age of Transition," "The England of the 14th Century," etc. In his introduction, the editor has given a lengthy explanation of the main events chronicled in the long series of "visitation" documents (in Latin) which form the bulk of the work. In it we see a first-rate ecclesiastical administrator enforcing, usually successfully, the rights of a metropolitan to visit his suffragan sees. The attempts of some bishops to prevent his visitations, the interchange of formal letters, claims and counter-claims, and the unusually rapid settlement of most of the difficulties, give us a vivid picture of ecclesiastical administration in the England of the Fourteenth century.

Courteney had a sharp eye; for example, he noted the untidiness of the monks' habits and vestments at St. Augustine's in Bristol (p. 38). The monks' explanation that their tall black boots made it almost impossible to keep their habits and vestments clean without running deep into the red on cleaning bills caused the archbishop to grant them permission to use shoes of black or brown cloth, provided they didn't wear them outside the monastery without the abbot's express permission. At Leicester abbey he found friction between the monks and their abbot over monastic administration, but he was able to bring about a compromise between the parties (p. 48). At Daventry he found the townspeople arrayed against the local monastery in a dispute about a right of way across the convent churchyard. On being denied it, the townsmen had stolen tithes and had placed a bell near the monks' dormitory which they rang at the hour you would think they would. The archbishop put a stop to the bell ringing and mediators helped to end the dispute (p. 49). At another place the metropolitan was faced with the problem of the faithful who offered as their

tithes calves only four weeks old and pigs three, with the result that they quickly died. So the archbishop decreed that only stock already weaned or able to take care of itself could be given (p. 67).

In their disputes both bishops and archbishops appealed quite naturally to Rome. The editor notes that "by having recourse to Rome, the prelates were, consciously or unconsciously, strengthening the position of the papacy as head of the western church." Another interpretation is, of course, that they were merely doing what they and their predecessors had usually done.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

Forgotten Religions. A Symposium, edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xvi + 392. \$7.50.

Of the religions studied here, thirteen belong to extinct civilizations; one lives in geographically remote Tibet; six more are slowly dying among small primitive and savage groups. "Forgotten" they are in the sense that they are not obtruded on our attention through any vital contact with our ideologies and workaday concerns. Dr. Ferm thinks (though this is not necessarily the view of the individual contributors to the Symposium) that "the simple principle of adaptation to environment" explains the origin and progress of religion. Man weaves "religious" fancies to protect his mind against the big bad mystery of life, much as he sews skins together to cover his shivering body. It is to be presumed that Dr. Ferm would regard as irrelevant metaphysics the inquiry whether the object of religion is as real as the wintry blast.

Apparently the mantle of Jane Harrison has fallen on Phyllis Ackerman, who fancifully sketches *The Dawn of Religions*. The facts she adduces are too fragmentary and disparate, her analogies are too strained, to impress a sober student of religions. He respects the function of "creative insight involving imagination" (p. 18), but has a deeper respect for plausibility. In sharp contrast to this first monograph, most of the other contributions to the Symposium are severely factual and abstemious in the use of creative insight and imagination. The writers, specialists in their respective fields — Mercer on Egypt, Kramer on Sumer, Elkin on Australian Aborigines, and the rest — fill the relatively few pages budgeted to them with reliable information. The treatment is geared to the I.Q. of "the average reader," that favorite protege of publishers.

Dr. Gaster mars a worthy summary of Canaanite religion by statements incompatible with right ideas of supernatural religion. First,

there are several assertions of specific Hebrew borrowings (pp. 130-133). Then, on p. 114 is read: "Refined in the crucible of their own genius, it is this religion (the Canaanite) that they (the Hebrews) have passed down to us in the legacy of the Old Testament." Finally, on p. 140: "If the faith of Israel is the sun in the firmament of ancient religions, that of Canaan is none the less a shining star . . . Canaanite religion is assuredly one of the many mansions in the Father's house." Censurable on this same score of assimilation of revealed religion to natural are a remark on the Orphics (p. 181) and two on Mithraism (pp. 206, 212). The five monographs on primitive and savage religions, valuable for their descriptions of ceremonies and magical practices, are unduly silent on the spiritual and more properly religious elements of the cults. The accumulating evidence for belief in "high gods" cannot be ignored; moral inhibitions are not satisfactorily explained as mere social taboos; savages may not be theologically precise on "soul" and "afterlife," but these are genuine realities to them.

George C. Ring, St. Mary's College, Kansas.

A History of England, by Frederick George Marcham. Revised edition. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1950. pp. xiii, 874. \$5.00.

For some years Professor Marcham's *History of England* has been recognized by students and teachers as one of the best of the general surveys of the subject. In this revised edition chapters have been added to bring the record down to the close of the second world war, and some minor changes have been made in earlier sections of the book; but in substance it is the history of England as originally published in 1937. It is a remarkably full and comprehensive narrative, marked throughout by that precise and accurate scholarship which students of the subject have come to associate with the name of Professor Marcham, and written in a manner which makes it one of the most useful, if not always the most interesting, of the many books of the kind that are now available.

Among the best sections of the book are those which deal with constitutional development, and this is especially true of the chapters which relate the growth of the English community during the middle ages. Few books of comparable length will be found to contain so clear and interesting an account of the growth of the common law, the evolution of parliament, and the actual working of central and local government as it was being built up during these formative centuries. Something of the clarity and precision of these earlier

chapters is lacking in the account of changes in more recent times. The idea of continuity is perhaps unduly emphasized. The element of revolution in the Reformation and in the constitutional changes of the seventeenth century is given less weight than it merits; and the references to cabinet government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries give no very adequate idea of that unique development.

A good deal of space is given in later sections to the growth of the empire and to the extension of English ideas of law and government in these new communities. On the whole Professor Marcham appears content to relate the facts and to take little note of the theories of empire about which Englishmen have debated for the past two centuries. It is for example, a little curious to read the history of the American Revolution, and to find only a partial sentence referring to Burke's speech on Conciliation. The author's lack of interest in the Irish problem is a little too evident, and the few brief passages dealing with the events of 1886, 1912 and 1920 give a wholly inadequate idea of the complexities of the problem, the aspirations of the Irish people, and the nature of the opposition to change.

This is essentially political history, and the approach is wholly secular. Professor Marcham is primarily interested in the growth of the English state within a society that is in many ways unique. One of his most characteristic comments is that the Reformation as carried out by Henry VIII was a "political necessity"; his whole discussion of the great issue is determined by that assumption. There are good chapters on what would more generally be described as English civilization, and some of these contain a great deal of interesting material on economic, social and intellectual changes. But too often they have the appearance of being detached from the main line of the narrative, and in some cases the reader will be puzzled by the order in which the material is set forth. The economic changes of the sixteenth century, including the great enclosure movement, will be found in a chapter on the Renaissance and Reformation; and a section dealing with the work of Sir Thomas More and the Oxford Reformers is tacked on, almost as an appendage, to a long and not very interesting discussion of the Reformation in England and on the continent.

Within its limits this is an unusually complete narrative. It presents an immense wealth of detail in an orderly and compact form that will be of the greatest convenience to students; its utility is enhanced by a good bibliography and a number of useful appendices. But it must be added that it is not always a very interesting narrative; one principal reason for that is the author's failure to impart any real

life to the men and women whose achievements he is recording.

D. J. McDougall, University of Toronto.

The Reign of King John, by Sydney Painter. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 398. \$5.50.

It is almost fifty years since Kate Norgate's *John Lackland* appeared. There has been no lack of detailed studies in the meantime, but Professor Painter's book is the first one to attempt the much needed reassessment of the reign as a whole. We are fortunate that the task has been undertaken by so competent an authority. The present volume deals with political and administrative history only, but the author already envisages a second volume on "England in the Reign of King John" which will complete a comprehensive history of the period.

The book in its entirety is a delineation of the background and the immediate consequences of the issuance of *Magna Carta*; it falls, nevertheless, into three distinct parts: aspects of John's government, his quarrel with Pope Innocent III, and the struggle with the barons which led to *Magna Carta* and the civil war.

Professor Painter's treatment of King John and the Magnates is typical of his method throughout. Realizing the difficulty of forming a coherent picture of the baronage as a whole, he prefers to pass in detailed review the concrete cases of individual barons and particular relationships. So, too, with the chapter on the King's Servants; it furnishes an admirable synthesis of central and local government, but it does so by showing us in the same rich and precise detail particular men who were the officials rather than by generalizing about offices and functions. These two chapters and the following one on the financial problem which was basic in John's reign are noteworthy for the amount of new material they present; the sources used were already known and published but had never before been drawn upon so exhaustively.

John's quarrel with Pope Innocent III is set in the context of the larger problem of spiritual and temporal authority in a Christian society. Professor Painter's account of the much publicized, yet frequently misunderstood and misrepresented dispute is fair and objective. John's character may have heightened the quarrel, but the clash is essentially one of principle not of personalities. The twin spectres of "grovelling to the Pope" and of contemporary resentment at John's doing homage to the Holy See for his kingdom are laid low as a misreading of events. Good use is made in this chapter of recent

work by Dom David Knowles and C. R. Cheney. The picture of Stephen Langton is entirely sympathetic; it is not meant to be a full-length portrait, but in what we do see he appears as a man whose ideas and ideals were much above those of the barons and in advance of his time.

The last chapters of the book recount in chronological order the story of John's struggle with his barons. Like the earlier chapters, they are replete with new and detailed information. The composition of the baronial party is painstakingly explored, the relationship between its different members, their personal ambitions and desires, and their individual quarrels with the king. Again we are in contact with real, concrete cases, not with generalities. *Magna Carta* itself is examined in its genesis, its contents, its significance and its consequences; the result is a valuable revision of the whole state of the question today.

The picture that monastic chroniclers have left us of King John is certainly not a flattering one, probably not an altogether just one. The balance needed to be corrected by doing justice to his original ideas and to his very considerable ingenuity, especially in financial innovations and experiments. Nevertheless, while the author regards John as a far better king than his brother or his son — probably as good a king as his father — he is forced to add that little can be said for his private character. He was admittedly irreligious, cruel, lecherous and deceitful, seething with jealousy and suspicion; and his personal vices continually hampered his political effectiveness.

We have come to expect a distinctively personal touch in all that Professor Painter writes. Nor it is a matter of style only. It is rather the considered opinion he frequently advances on questions that are by no means definitely settled. Always, however, he states it frankly as opinion only. Indeed, in the case of a less competent historian, one might be uneasy at the number of conclusions that are introduced by expressions like: "I suspect," "It seems to me," "I am convinced," "I doubt very much that," etc.

The most cursory comparison of footnotes in Miss Norgate's book with those in Professor Painter's makes the reader conscious of the incomparable riches of the Public Record Office even for this early period, and of the difference their use by able scholars has made to the writing of English History. A penetration in depth that was hitherto impossible has now been achieved.

George Flahiff, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto.

MODERN

The Pageant of Russian History, by Elizabeth Seeger. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1950. pp. x, 433. \$4.50.

With broad strokes of the pen the author has attempted to present the pageant of the history of Russia, from the origins down to victory over Hitler's Germany. She purports to write a simple and understandable story of the Russian people, country and leaders because "there are so few books that are suitable for young people, and for those adults who do not want to labor through a long and scholarly work."

Writing vividly, the author presents a simplified and romanticized story of which Russia is the hero. The hero has some quite human faults, but is a remarkable hero nevertheless. The book was written in the full flush of post-war enthusiasm for Russia (perhaps self-delusion is more accurate), and this enthusiasm is reflected throughout the book, most especially in the treatment of the Communist regime since 1917. Striving for objectivity, she points out the heavy sacrifices demanded of the people, but there is a great admiration for the political, economic and social objectives and accomplishments of the Soviet regime. Lenin is greatly admired both as a thinker and as an organizer. Although continuing to recognize the faults of the hero, now wearing a red shirt, Seeger continues to present the Russian story as one of great success. The climax is reached during the Nazi attack when the people rallied unanimously to repel the invasion. Objectivity might have been better served if some notice had been taken of the post-war punitive measures against large segments of the populace and against entire regions for their "lukewarm attitude" during the "great Patriotic War."

Miss Seeger has succeeded in synthesizing the whole of Russian history into a coherent and readable, if sometimes too imaginative story. It is evident that her knowledge of Russian institutions is superficial and some of her interpretations are subject to question, but if the book is taken for what it is, a simplification, it can be of use in introducing the novice to the field of Russian history.

The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1929-1941. Vol. II, 1936-1941, by Max Beloff. London. Oxford University Press, 1949. pp. viii, 434, \$5.00.

In Volume II of his study on the foreign policy of Soviet Russia, Max Beloff surveys the years from 1936 to 1941, from the reoccupation of the Rhineland to the climactic Nazi attack on Russia. Dividing the five year period into two sections, the breakdown of collective security, and the period of the "second imperialist war," Beloff traces Russian reactions and policies during the period of Axis successes, the rapprochement with Hitler and finally the efforts to delay the German attack.

No startlingly new approach to the foreign policy of any of the states is presented; Beloff is content to chronicle the events of the period rather than to analyze the motives behind them. The information is derived almost entirely from published material, with the records of the Nuremberg trials affording much data on Nazi-Soviet relations. Beloff admits that his survey is merely an introduction to the problems of Soviet policy, for so long as Soviet records are unavailable, little more than an outline of events can be essayed.

Only in the last chapter of the book, entitled "Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy," does Beloff permit himself personal observations on the events he had chronicled in the preceding chapters. He notes that Soviet action cannot be understood without an understanding of Soviet ideology and that any consideration of Soviet policy must take into consideration the dualism which guides it: the short term objectives (security and consequent progress within its own frontiers), and the long term objectives (the extension of the area of Sovietization). Thus in the period under survey, where a single powerful enemy has emerged in the capitalist environment, Soviet diplomacy sought to isolate it, as during the "collective security" period from 1934-1938. When the outside world was in turmoil and the capitalist powers indulged in internecine strife, then came the opportunity for expansion, as in 1939-1941. But even in periods of collaboration with non-Soviet powers, the Soviet leaders have consistently adhered to one precept, they have never sacrificed important long-term advantages.

Undoubtedly with the passage of time new data will be unearthed, memoirs and diaries of diplomats will be published, and hitherto secret agreements will be made public, which will throw more and perhaps new light on the years herein covered, but currently Beloff's book can be considered a good summation of all available data on

the tortuous policy of the Soviet Union in the days of appeasement and war. It should prove of service not only to students of Russian history, but also to all serious observers of the current scene.

Anthony F. Czajkowski, Saint Louis University.

France and the Saar, 1680-1948, by Laing Gray Cowan. New York. Columbia University Press. 1950. pp. 247. \$3.50.

The history of the lands which for centuries have been in dispute between the French and the Germans presents a complicated problem to many students. Consequently, this study of the fortunes of the people of this border land from the year 1680 to that of 1948 will be welcome in many quarters. Here the student will find a number of the important facts pertaining to the Saar as a bone of contention between the imperial interests of those who presided over the Holy Roman Empire and the rulers of France whose ambition it was to fill out their "natural boundaries." Although Louis XIV failed to incorporate these lands into France, he succeeded in extending French influence to the banks of the Rhine; an influence which remained strong until the time of the French Revolution when the Saar was actually occupied by the French.

The peacemakers of Vienna adjusted boundaries and prepared the way for that orientation toward Prussia which was to be so successful that the people of the Saar overwhelmingly voted for incorporation into the Third Reich in 1935. After the strain and stress of World War II the land of the Saar once again was brought within the orbit of French influence. What the future holds for the people of this territory few would venture to predict. However, the author of this study seems to be of the opinion that the French have worked out a satisfactory solution by giving the people of the Saar a quasi-independent status while demanding an economic union with France.

Unfortunately, the author is not at home in his consideration of the earlier periods of his study. He has made mistakes which will make many a student of the history of France wince. For example, the author has Henry III recapturing in 1552 the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (p. 19). In writing of the French Revolution he refers to a Convention decree of August 4, 1789 (p. 26). A historian of the conservative camp will be astonished to learn that the people of the Saar territory constantly demanded, *from 1789 on, union with the French Republic* (p. 29, italics added). One can easily imagine Aulard's reaction. (were he alive) to the statement, "Republican clubs

were founded in many districts and after French military occupation began, the white cockade was commonly worn in the streets." (p. 29).

At the risk of seeming pedantic, it might be pointed out that it can hardly be considered exact to imply that the Carlsbad Decrees, promulgated by the German federal diet, were singularly Prussian (p. 60). Moreover, it is with a feeling akin to despair of ever being fully understood, that the Catholic student will read that the Prussian monarchy feared that control over conscience by Rome would tend to undermine the authority of the temporal government (p. 62).

Such mistakes detract from a study which should otherwise prove to be very practical. It is also to be regretted that the author did not write a bibliographical essay; such a paper is badly needed as a guide to the respective merits of French and German writers on a subject which by its very nature is so controversial.

Harold L. Stansell, Regis College.

The British Settlement of Natal, by Alan F. Hattersley, Cambridge University Press. pp. VIII, 351. \$3.75.

Alan F. Hattersley, Professor of History in the University of Natal, has written a scholarly saga of Natal, the British province in South Africa. Prof. Hattersley's book is carefully compiled, written in essay form, documented and indexed. It should serve as minor lode of information on emigration, immigration, colonization, and migration.

Professor Hattersley describes the difficulties and hardships of the first settlers in this province, the life led by the African *Trek-Boers*, the physical, legal and social conflicts between the whites and the blacks, the establishment of British authority, 1845-9, the attempts to colonize the province by the establishment of emigration companies in England. Of particular interest to sociologists and to historians is Prof. Hattersley's description of the type of people that emigrated to Natal from the congested industrial towns of England, from the rural counties of England and from Scotland. A good deal of social history, the effects of the Industrial Revolution and overcrowding, are here depicted. The author then proceeds to describe the conditions the emigrants found upon arrival in Natal, their struggle to realize economic development and agricultural progress, and concludes his book by making a penetrating analysis of the political activities of these settlers as well as their social and cultural life.

This process of settlement paralleled the period of the Gold Rush in California in 1849. Anyone familiar with American Western history

will see a striking resemblance of the type of life led by these men and women of Natal with that of our frontiersmen. A good portion of the book reads like an American Western saga written by a painstaking scholar.

This book is recommended to all those who are interested in social history, in population movements, in ecology, in colonization. The sociologist will find the book interesting and instructive. The economist and the ecologist will find it highly informative. The historian will find it not only useful but a good example of historical reporting and describing.

Clement S. Mihanovich, Saint Louis University.

De La Salle, Saint and Spiritual Writer, by W. J. Battersby, Ph.D.
Pp. xx, 207. Longmans, Green and Co. New York. 1950. \$3.00.

This work is a companion volume to the same writer's *De La Salle, a Pioneer of Modern Education*, which appeared a year or so ago. It is a study of the genesis of Lasallian spirituality and a systematic exposition of it rather than an account of the saint's life. It presents a very interesting historical picture in a clear and pleasant way.

St. John Baptist de la Salle lived at a time and place which brought him into contact with movements and forces that were of more than ordinary importance in the history of the Church and in particular of her spirituality. These influences were both for good and for evil, and it is one of the glories of St. John that he was always able to discern the differences in tendency and to appraise them rightly.

De la Salle was trained mostly in the French School of Spirituality, and more precisely in that form of it which was fostered at St. Sulpice. Thus he came to know the ideas and ideals of Bérulle, Olier, Tronson, and other such leaders. Owing to the death of his parents he had to leave the seminary and then for some years before his ordination he was directed and profoundly influenced by Nicholas Roland, a canon at the Cathedral of Rheims. Another man who did very much to determine the career and work of St. John was the Minim Père Barré of Rouen; this holy priest had made certain beginnings in education which prepared the way for him. Once De la Salle found himself the head of the group which was destined to develop into the Brothers of the Christian Schools he had to write a rule for them and began to study the monastic tradition. He seems to have had a special liking for the Benedictine current in it. Very probably too he was influenced by the writings of Abbot De Rancé,

the founder of the modern Trappists. Battersby points out several parallels between the directions written by De Rancé for his monks at recreation and those drawn up by St. John for his Brothers.

It was natural that the practices of the Society of Jesus should be considered with special care. The Jesuits exemplified adaptation of the religious life to modern needs and conditions, and moreover their work of educating the young was just what the new founder was aiming at. In one of his meditations he advises the Brothers to "have as great a spirit of detachment and as ardent a zeal for the glory of God as this Saint (Ignatius), and as the members of his order." He studied the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius as well as the *Constitutions of the Society*. From the former he simply took over the method for the general examination of conscience. He desired that his disciples should make retreats according to the *Exercises*. De la Salle, who specialized, so to speak, in teaching good manners and had himself written for the students in his schools *The Rules of Good Behavior and Christian Politeness*, "borrowed from the Jesuits . . . the Rule of Modesty."

So much for influences to which St. John yielded. There were others which he resisted; most noble among these was the Jansenistic movement. How great this was in his time can be judged from the fact that "during his life there were no less than twelve papal decrees issued against Jansenism." Advocates of the new doctrine did everything they could to win his adherence. Nevertheless he always eluded their efforts successfully, and the bull of his canonization singles it out as one of his special merits that he was thoroughly opposed to the wiles and errors of Jansenism.

In his positive exposition of St. John's spiritual system Battersby indicates the following as leading traits of it: the spirit of faith, obedience, mental prayer, and the two devotions to the holy child Jesus and to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

G. Aug. Ellard, St. Mary's College, Kansas.

Ideas and Men, by Crane Brinton. New York. Prentice-Hall, pp. ix, 587. \$6.00.

In *Ideas and Men* Professor Brinton has written a new kind of book out of old materials. This is not a history of philosophy, as the first part of the title might suggest, nor is it a social and cultural history, as the last part might suggest. It draws material from both these kinds of history, but it is a genre all its own. *Ideas and Men* is intellectual

history in the broadest and commonest sense of that term, a history of what men have thought and felt through history about what Brinton calls the Big Questions of Life.

This work is concerned, of course, only with the Western World. It mentions Hinduism or Moslem culture only insofar as these made contact with Western man's mind. In thirteen chapters Professor Brinton takes the reader through Greece and Rome, into the period of Christianity and medieval civilization, down into the era of transition and through that into the eighteenth century and our own time. Throughout the book one is made aware of the author's wide reading and his balanced judgment. Brinton has made use of the latest scholarly work in almost all fields of intellectual history, an accomplishment not too difficult of attainment for one with energy and ability — but he has used these things judiciously, something rather rarely done by those who "popularize" scholarly work.

A word must be said about the style of this work. It is conversational, informal. The reader feels flattered, somehow, that Brinton believes him intelligent enough to do his own thinking. This is a Socratic book, then, the Socrates in this case being urbane, sophisticated and perhaps just a little cynical. A good teacher, Brinton uses just enough big words and just enough popular phrases; he leads the reader on without didactically forming his conclusions for him.

Ideas and Men, this reviewer believes, should prove of value as collateral reading for college survey courses in Western history. It could even be used as the basic text for an "honors" group, or for the better equipped students taking the survey course. It should prove of value to all teachers of such courses.

Many historians will find one basic point of disagreement between themselves and Professor Brinton. He states it this way: "In this book, an attempt will be made to study Christianity from the outside, from a position that denies the *existence* of the supernatural, though not, of course, the reality of human aspirations toward the supernatural." Such a difference between this and the Christian point of view is, in our Western civilization, a fundamental divergence. The surprising thing to this reviewer, therefore, is the similarity of Brinton's view to our own in almost all other matters. Professor Brinton is a historian rather than a philosopher or a theologian. As a reporter of the currents in Western intellectual history he tells much the same story that the Catholic historian would tell. He is too good a historian to accept the old myths about the Dark Ages and the Reformation, about the Church's denial of liberty to scientists and so on. At the same time, he does not make the mistake of many overly sensitive and

defensive Catholics in going to the other extreme of believing that Catholics are always good and always right about everything.

A pioneer work in the field of that twilight zone between formal histories of philosophy and social-cultural histories, *Ideas and Men* is a thoroughly competent piece of work which, this reviewer believes, will not be superseded by a better work for many years to come.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

The Vatican and the Kremlin, by Camille M. Cianfarra. E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1950. 258 pp. \$3.00.

Camille Cianfarra, long-time representative of the *New York Times* at the Vatican, is rather adequately equipped to write on *The Vatican and the Kremlin*. Earlier, he authored *The Vatican and the War* and his latest work is of similar high quality.

The tenor of his work is that the Vatican in leading the struggle is doing more than fighting for its own existence. It is also struggling for the preservation of the basic principles of Christian Western civilization. The work deals mainly with the post-war era, when so much of the non-ecclesiastical opposition to Communism crumbled and the Church was left virtually alone to carry on the struggle in Europe.

The book does not pretend to be a philosophical exposition of the differences between Catholicism and Communism. Rather, it is an excursion into the contemporary history of the actual difficulties the Church is enduring in the Iron Curtain countries.

Actually, there is little in the work that is entirely new or startling to the informed reader. The book does serve the purpose, however, of presenting a current and concise treatment of the Church's situation in each Iron Curtain country.

Clifford J. Reutter, University of Detroit.

AMERICAN

Puritanism in Early America, edited by Geo. M. Waller, Boston.

D. C. Heath and Co. 1950. pp. 115. \$1.00.

Problems in American Civilization, the Heath Series of selected readings, is one of the very best of its kind. *Puritanism in Early America* is the eighth volume to appear in this series; two more are forthcoming. Like the others, this volume is extremely well done, with both the critical and the sympathetic minded allowed space for their facts and opinions of Puritanism. However, by means of excellent selection no space is wasted. Nine rather well known historians (Charles Beard, Thomas Wertenbaker, Vernon L. Parrington, Samuel Morison, etc.) state their positions clearly, and yet all is accomplished within one hundred and fifteen pages, including "suggestions for further reading." In this instance *very* good things come in small packages.

Government and The American Economy, 1870 — Present, by T. G.

Manning and D. M. Potter, New York. Henry Holt and Company. 1950. pp. 464. \$3.25.

Government and The American Economy, 1870 — Present is the second in the present Henry Holt series, Select Problems in Historical Interpretation. It is not a collection of readings nor is it a collection of documents, yet both are to be found here. The editors have selected a series of problems (such as the railroads, their relation to the people and to the government) which they believe to be intrinsically important historical topics. Then by means of documents, readings and editorial explanation an intensive study of these problems is made. It is hoped that the student will judge, evaluate and interpret for himself. The problems are well selected for the great industrial period after 1870. Each of the topics could be considered complete in itself, yet much more is to be gained if all the topics are studied as parts of a larger problem. The reviewer is in agreement with the editors that such an approach to the study of history is refreshing, and even necessary for a sounder understanding of our nation's past and its relation to the present. We would suggest, however, that the use of this present volume presupposes a survey knowledge of U. S. History. Thus its use is recommended, not for the survey, but for the so-called period course.

The Making of American Democracy, edited by Ray Allen Billington, Bert James Loewenberg, and Samuel Hugh Brockunier. New York. Rinehart and Company, Inc. 1950. pp. 992. \$5.00.

This compilation of readings and documents attempts to present to the reader "a continuous documentary account of American history." The editors make no claim to exhaustive treatment of any period or topic, and of this they cannot be accused. Their hope is to narrate general American history, weaving in certain pertinent documents, centering attention on critical periods. The "critical periods" chosen are standard. At the end of each so called volume (the work is broken at the civil war and called two volumes in one) is a brief annotated bibliography. It is well indexed. The period covered by this publication is from Columbus to Truman, and consequently no one period can receive too much attention if all are to be covered. Also certain important phases of our history must be neglected. Like the half glass of water, it is difficult to decide whether it's half empty or half full.

Edward Maguire, Saint Louis University.

The Utopian Communist: A biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer, by Carl Wittke. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1950. pp. vii, 327. \$4.50.

This reviewer must admit a tendency to sympathize with reformers, but he found it exceedingly difficult to warm up to the personality and work of Wilhelm Weitling as described by his biographer.

Wilhelm Weitling was a simple German tailor whose interests turned early to workingmen's movements and to formulating panaceas for society. His activities in these fields were noteworthy in Europe in the eighteen-thirties and forties, and in the United States between 1850 and 1855. Almost half of this biography deals with the latter five-year period. From 1855 until his death in 1871 Weitling practiced his trade as a tailor in New York City and spent much energy developing a universal language, a new cosmogony, and accessories for the sewing machine.

He is labeled by one authority as "the only really great communist of pre-Marxian times" (p. 107), but one should not think of his philosophy as similar to that of Karl Marx. Weitling was no scientific socialist or economic determinist. In a chapter entitled "Weitling and Marx" the author explains the early contacts between the two men and the differences in their philosophies. This account is quite interesting but a bit one-sided since the reader sees Marx

through Weitling's unfriendly eyes. According to his biographer, Weitling stood "midway between the Utopians and the Marxists" (p. 110). His utopianism is seen in the story of the communist colony of Communia, Iowa, in which Weitling invested the funds of his German workingmen's organization, the *Arbeiterbund*. The rest of his philosophy, which is given considerable attention in the early chapters, was outlined in three major works written in Germany between 1838 and 1844.

In this biography Wilhelm Weitling emerges as a dualistic personality. On the one hand he appears as a sincere, hard-working, determined and honest reformer with fairly deep religious convictions; on the other, he is inconsistent, impractical, stubborn, visionary, testy, vain, intolerant, and against organized religion. Professor Wittke leans toward the sympathetic adjectives, but this reviewer finds the weight of the evidence on the other side of the scale.

Dr. Wittke, who is Professor of History and Dean of the Graduate School at Western Reserve University, has made several real contributions in this book. He has given us the detailed career of an important reformer of a century ago. He has uncovered new material relating to the German workingmen's movement and to the Communia, Iowa, colony. Although Weitling belonged to the extreme left wing of the mid-nineteenth century German migration to the United States, we also get here some insight into the general problem of those migrants. We shall doubtless receive a full and adequate description of the German Forty-eighters in America in Professor Wittke's forthcoming study of that subject.

This work can not be suggested as light reading for idle dabblers in biography. Neither does this work shed much light on the current ideological controversy (although the publisher's jacket implies that it will). This is a volume for those especially interested in Utopian movements, factional struggles in radical organizations, and in the German workingmen's movement in the United States. In developing his well-documented story Professor Wittke has seemingly exhausted all available sources in English and German.

Marvin Wachman, Colgate University.

John Quincy Adams, His Theory and Ideas, by George A. Lipsky. New York. Crowell Co. 1950. pp. xii, 347. \$4.50.

Professor Lipsky has produced a thorough, scholarly and authoritative analysis of the political and social philosophy of our sixth president. His book is obviously based on complete and painstaking

research, so extensive as to leave the reader wondering how one person could possibly have made his way through so voluminous a collection of materials. At any rate, the book reveals John Quincy Adams as a person of unique intellectual integrity.

This integrity, so characteristic of Adams, and attested to by both his friends and his enemies, had as one of its major components an extremely strong sense of duty. It might have been almost crushing to any other person, but Adams prayed for more hours in the day, during which he might pour out his energies. His equally strong sense of community, deriving through Locke and Hooker from the Middle Ages, produced in him a driving awareness of obligation to society as a whole. The common good was his consistent objective throughout a long, fruitful life of hard work.

Adams found the world about him confined and controlled by a paramount law of nature, ordained by God, and superior to the regulations of humans. This law of nature was one which the logical mind could discern and apply to every human situation. Thus Adams' moral system was based upon a belief in God, and in God's continuing concern with the affairs of men. Although he confessed "involuntary and agonizing doubts" concerning Divine Providence, particularly after his failure to be re-elected to the presidency, Adams never abandoned his reliance upon "the laws of Nature and Nature's God."

On this eminently sound metaphysical foundation Adams established the structure of his values concerning men and things within society. Viewing life as naturally social, he found in man's simplest associations the germs of a social order; thus he placed himself apart from the typical eighteenth century theorists of a state of nature that men transformed into political society by a social contract. Society and government were not only natural for Adams; they were also the basic safeguards of culture, relationships and standards. In his view, a proper social order must be based upon a solid, organic community of interests and reciprocal advantages; force and power alone could not maintain it. There was needed a *superior* unity, based upon the entire interests of the society itself, a unity that could be upheld only by the recognition of all interests in a measure commensurate with their importance. Hence Adams doubted the wisdom of a given nation's growing to include a large territory, a swarming population and diverse races, with the accompanying diversity of principles and prejudices; on the same basis, he was opposed to the formation of political parties on a strong class basis. Rather, in his view, democracy should rest upon a solid foundation of association

among various groups, particularly families, within society. In keeping with his time Adams generally favored a suffrage limited to heads of families, with tax and property qualifications to assure adequate protection both for persons and property.

Withal, Adams' thought was not fashioned in the typical conservative mold. Devoted to the idea of human perfectibility, which he saw as part of the Divine plan, he was not opposed to change. He did seek a compromise between change and stability; thus the "primitive right of insurrection" should be used only sparingly. But no negative suspicion of government limited his conception of what men might accomplish through its agency. Government to him was the collective means through which God's gifts could and should be exploited and developed for the good of all. In this view Adams would seem to be more in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt than in that of Andrew Jackson.

Even this brief and inadequate summary indicates that Mr. Lipsky need make no apologies for the breadth of his title. He has covered his subject with complete adequacy. His book will be definitive for many years to come.

Paul G. Steinbicker, Saint Louis University.

John Bell of Tennessee, by Joseph Howard Parks. Baton Rouge, La. Louisiana State University Press. 1950. pp. 435. \$5.00.

Seldom are biographies of this quality produced. The author's achievement is all the more outstanding because no sizable collection of Bell papers is known to exist. This handicap was overcome unusually well by painstakingly searching out Bell manuscripts and references in the letters and writings of contemporaries. Perhaps this apparent disadvantage proved an asset, for numerous unfettered opinions of Bell by political friends and enemies have undoubtedly resulted in a portrait of greater objectivity. The evidence assembled was skillfully sifted, judiciously treated, and then written into a clear cut and well organized narrative. Bell appears as he was — nothing more, nothing less. When aspects of the Bell story cannot be told because of insufficient material, fortunately no effort is made beyond reasonable conjecture to fill the gaps through the medium of the imagination. The picture of both the state and national political scene of Bell's active years in public life is penetrating, accurate, and comprehensive. With amazing skill the writer likewise shows the impact of Tennessee politics on the national front. The author has achieved not only his purpose of presenting Bell's "contributions and influence" (p. vii),

but has produced also a definitive biography and a classic pattern for similar studies.

John Bell, historically speaking, is not well known. A review of his record, however, suggests that this fate is undeserved, for this biography is the story of significant political service. Bell's public career, begun at twenty-one in the Tennessee senate, took him to the national House of Representatives for a fourteen year period beginning in 1827. Although a Jacksonian Democrat in the beginning, he eventually broke with the president on the national bank issue. Next a Whig and a leader of the party both in Tennessee and the nation, he was a prominent figure in the anti-Jackson-Van Buren movement in the House. In 1834 the Jackson opposition made him speaker, and in 1841 he was rewarded with the office of Secretary of War by Whig President William Henry Harrison. Serving in the United States Senate for two terms concluding in 1859, Bell distinguished himself by his consistent opposition to extremists of both North and South. His moderate and conciliatory views were misunderstood in an increasing degree as civil conflict approached. These opinions made him the presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union Party in 1860 and finished abruptly a fruitful public career. Although he did not approve of secession, he finally endorsed the Confederacy, but not until after Fort Sumter. Surprisingly, this distinguished biography is the first full-length study of John Bell — a man politically prominent for years but now remembered only as the presidential candidate of the unsuccessful Constitutional Union Party.

John Bell of Tennessee is the tenth title to appear in the notable Southern Biography Series published by the Louisiana State University Press.

LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Edmund Pendleton Gaines: Frontier General, by James W. Silver. Louisiana State University Press. 1949.

Associated in one way or another with important situations or actions in American History are countless lesser figures — men of renown and of prominence in their own circle of acquaintances, but unmentioned and unsung in the normal chronicles of history. Such a person was Edmund Pendleton Gaines, a controversial and eccentric character, yet a solid citizen and a contributor, builder, and defender of the American nation.

The significant part of General Gaines' public career extended from 1804 to the close of the Mexican War. During this course of

time the frontier general surveyed the Natchez Trace, arrested Aaron Burr, fought the British, the Spanish, and the Indians, was closely associated with the prominent politicians and soldiers of the time, saw his friendship with Andrew Jackson and Winfield Scott turn into bitter enmity, and toured the country advocating national defense and crusading for expansion of the railroad system. His carefully planned and well conducted defense of Ft. Erie during the War of 1812 practically made him a national hero; on the other hand, his disdain and lack of reverence for various influential figures, state and national, brought him national publicity as well as endless troubles. Gaines was inclined to nonconformity. His inability or unwillingness to bend, at times a splendid demonstration of his individualism, probably caused him more trouble than any other of his characteristics. Despite this, General Gaines undoubtedly must rank as one of the nation's foremost military leaders during the eighteen thirties and forties.

Of his personal life neither the general nor his biographer, James W. Silver, say too much. Edmund Pendleton Gaines was born in frontier Virginia during the Revolution, a descendant of distinguished English lineage whose ancestors had won themselves glory since the days of Agincourt. From the time of his boyhood in eastern Tennessee, Gaines was attracted toward law practice, but always the military service offered greater inducements and made greater demands upon him. Only six months before the outbreak of the War of 1812, Gaines made his decision final for a military career, and within the short span of two years he rose from the rank of captain to that of brigadier general. The General married three times and his marriage to his third wife, Myra Clark Whitney, involved the couple in one of the most tangled legal battles of the American courts to establish the legitimacy of her birth and to recover New Orleans real estate of fabulous value left by her father.

Mr. Silver's biography of Gaines exhibits considerable research and sound scholarship. Numerous footnotes contribute much explanatory material to the interpretation. Several maps and sketches, a well arranged index, and a good format do much to make the book more readable.

While Mr. Silver has tried to make a fair evaluation of Gaines and for the most part has succeeded, the work tends to make the general far more important than his actual place in American history. The book can be read with profit but it is not too colorful in style nor entertaining. It is a good biography about a man of whom little has been known and about whom few, except historians, care.

Fred R. Van Valkenburg, Regis College.

The Gallant Hood, by John P. Dyer. Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1950. 383 pp. \$3.50.

With warfare so central a concern of our own experience, we have seen a resurgence of writing about the military aspects of the Civil War. Of the biographies listed in the bibliography of Professor Dyer's volume, two-thirds have been published since Douglas Freeman's life of Lee appeared in 1935. Dyer now adds to the list the tragic tale of John Bell Hood.

The son of a Kentucky doctor, Hood made it through West Point and was not yet thirty in 1861, when he resigned his commission in the United States Army. In less than a year he was a Confederate brigadier commanding the Texas brigade, and he and his men won acclaim for their daring, particularly at Gainey's Mill. Wounded in the arm at Gettysburg, Hood recuperated amidst the adulation of Confederate society in Richmond. At Chickamauga Hood's brigades were chiefly responsible for carrying the day, though Hood was again wounded and suffered a leg amputation. Again he convalesced — and wooed — in Richmond. Just before the battles around Atlanta President Davis removed Johnston and placed Hood in charge of the Confederate forces. His defense through attack was unavailing, and the city fell. Hood's army escaped to undertake a winter campaign in Tennessee which proved costly indeed on the battlefields of Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville. Hood spent the postwar years, until his death from yellow fever in 1879, as a cotton broker and insurance executive in New Orleans.

Dyer's biography is soundly researched and judiciously interpreted. The author has sought out the few Hood manuscripts which have survived, has engaged in personal interviews, and has carefully re-studied the printed sources. His assessment of Hood the general is sympathetic but critical. Hood was a disciple of attack, always hopeful he could lead his men to triumph over odds. His military judgments were intuitive rather than reasoned. His dependence on the smashing offensive made him indifferent to deception, to strategic maneuvering. Fighting excited him; he was bored by, and careless about, the routine of paper work and the drab tasks of discipline and planning. He was equipped to command a brigade but not an army.

The most controversial aspect of Hood's career has been his defense of Atlanta. Dyer's treatment of this episode is not of the might-have-been approach so frequently encountered among military historians. He admits that Hood got a few "bad breaks," but he concludes that Hood could scarcely have followed a different course of action than he did pursue. His forces were outnumbered two to one by Sherman's

troops; his subordinate officers distrusted his military vision and disliked him for political reasons. Indeed, Dyer suggests, Hood's defense of the city was "creditable," and in a military sense the campaign was "nearer a draw than an overwhelming victory for Sherman," because he failed to destroy Hood's army. Other generals had lost cities without suffering the decline in prestige suffered by Hood. He had the misfortune to yield Atlanta when the languishing hope of Confederate victory made scapegoats more necessary. Hood became a target for those seeking to discredit Davis, and he damaged his own case in history by seeking unfairly to blame his own lack of success upon Johnston's retreats prior to Atlanta and upon alleged failures of his subordinates. The subsequent Tennessee campaign, already the subject of a book by Thomas R. Hay, Dyer treats less fully.

Hood's career is narrated in breezy language, including some slang. Battle descriptions are clear, although the author's frequent use of metaphors from the field of sports—football, boxing, bowling—is somewhat obtrusive. The fifteen battle maps are well designed but poorly reproduced; an additional map, indicating the route of Confederate retreat from below Chattanooga to Atlanta, would have been helpful.

James Harvey Young, Emory University.

The Evolution of Our Latin-American Policy—A Documentary Record, compiled and edited by James W. Ganterbein. New York. Columbia University Press. 1950. pp. 979. \$12.50.

This is a valuable compilation of significant documents in the history of United States relations with the Latin Americas. These pieces are grouped under six general divisions: General Principles, wherein appear most of the documents pertinent to the Pan- and Inter-American movement; the Monroe Doctrine; the Independence of Cuba; the Panama Canal Concession; Certain Controversies with Mexico; Interventions in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. These are followed by four appendices, of which the first, having to do with the series of Inter-American Conferences, is extremely valuable. The official or other source from which each piece is taken is carefully noted at the head of each selection; otherwise, the editor makes no attempt at comment. Nevertheless, he has rendered a signal service to historians of the Latin Americas, for here in small compass are to be found for easy consultation and reference materials which heretofore have been almost so widely scattered as to discourage direct use. Obviously the selection makes no claims to being exhaustive, but it is carefully made.

The Latin American Republics — A History, by Dana Gardner Munro. Second Edition. New York. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1950. pp. 605. \$4.50.

Let a line or two suffice in order to call attention to a new edition of one of the standard texts in the Latin American field. The story has been brought down to date; sections of the earlier edition have been reworked and shifted into regional groupings; the bibliography includes significant writings which have appeared since 1942. The emphasis, as in the first edition, is on the national story of the republics.

The Awakening Valley, by John Collier, Jr., and Aníbal Buitrón. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. 1949. pp. 199; 167 photographs. \$6.00.

This is an interesting work from several points of view. It is a fine piece of ethnology of the folk in the Andean valley of Otavalo, Ecuador, woven into the story of the life of this little society, which is literally pulling itself up by its own bootstraps. And the book is superbly illustrated with over one hundred and fifty carefully chosen photographs to picture the people, the customs, the economic life of the "Awakening Valley." The book is a very new approach to the so-called social narrative.

Herein is described, and depicted, a community which could be matched dozens of times in the Andean highlands, a valley of South America's "forgotten men"; namely, her Indians who for centuries have withdrawn from contact with the civilization which the white man brought and have lived in the seclusion of their hills and valleys. The folks of Otavalo, however, have a lesson to teach — that of the rewarding fruits of self enterprise. With little help from outside but with great energy and faith in their land and themselves, they have won prosperity, self-respect, and, with this record, renown. Their achievement might well point the way to others like themselves and also to governments, including these latter to aid the folk of other valleys to awaken, that the Indians of the Andes may at last become an integral part of the nations which have grown in their lands.

John F. Bannon, Saint Louis University.

Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882, by Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L. Revista Catolica Press, El Paso, Texas, 1950. (No price available.) pp. 176.

The story of the Church in the United States is gradually being written by means of special studies of the various missions and dioceses. The present book furnishes some information about the founding of the Mission of New Mexico and Colorado by the Neapolitan Jesuits. The period covered begins with the founding of the mission and ends with the death of Father Donato M. Gasparri, S.J. Although not the first superior of the mission, Father Gasparri is rightly considered the founder. His death, at the age of forty-eight, was a great blow to the Church in the southwest. Father Gasparri, more than any other individual, led the fight to protect the interest of the Church and the Spanish speaking population against the anti-Catholic forces and land sharks infesting the region in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The book includes an account of the work of the mission, a translation of Gasparri's account of the journey of the first missionary group to New Mexico, and Father Vigilante's diary of the same journey. The diary is referred to as "The Diary of the Mission." Obviously the book was used as an announcement of the parish after the end of the journey, and is not the diary of the mission in any sense. A rather confusing title page announces this book as "Jesuit Studies — Southwest, Number One," but there is no indication regarding the editor of the ambitious series. It is to be hoped that no further studies will be issued until the essential documents in Naples and Rome are made available. .

Cowboys and Cattle Kings: Life on the Range Today, by C. L. Sonnichsen. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. pp. xviii, 316. \$4.50.

"Not from books" is the keynote of this study of the cattle trade at the present time. Instead of a bibliography we are given under the title "Not from books" the list of people interviewed in compiling the material which has been woven into a very interesting and informative story. This is the type of work that can be termed primary source material in its truest sense. The story of cattlemen from El Paso to Butte and their philosophy of life has been unfolded here in their own words. From the small time farmer to the assembly line manufacturers of beef, from the feed lot to the fight with the govern-

ment over grazing lands, from dude ranches to artists and authors the whole field has been covered.

Two chapters which will hold the attention of anyone, whether interested in cattle or not, are the chapters on the cowboy uniform and code. The many anecdotes scattered throughout the text give a real western flavor to the book. However, the writing seems to suffer from the author's penchant for naming and describing practically everybody he talked to in the course of his journey; he ends up by listing a few with whom he wishes he had had a chance to talk. The book can be considered a must for any student of current American history.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

The Old Oregon Country A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation, and Travel, by Oscar Osburn Winther. Stanford University Press. 1950, xvi, 348 p. \$7.50.

This is not a history of the Old Oregon Country but it is the story of trade, transportation, and travel in that region. Dr. Winther describes the struggle to overcome the imposing physical obstacles of the Pacific Northwest which impeded the exploitation of the rich natural resources of the Oregon Country. He includes in the Oregon Country present "British Columbia, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, western Montana, and, to be precise, a bit of western Wyoming."

This newest addition to Pacific Northwest Americana is moderately good within the limits set down by the author. There is the usual space devoted to a discussion of the fur trade in the Northwest which must include extensive treatment of the Hudson's Bay Company. "The Honourable Company's Larder" is the best description this reviewer has seen of the agricultural enterprises of The Company.

Additional chapters concerned with steamboats on the Columbia River and other inland waterways of the far Northwest bring together information hitherto widely scattered. Stagecoaches, pack trains, trails, and the camel caravans into British Columbia mines are presented again with scholarly care albeit without distinction. James Cook, Robert Gray, John Jacob Astor, and Sir George Simpson — fireside names in the Oregon Country — parade through these pages as they have in previous and, I suppose, will in future books about this area. You will find an occasional tid-bit of new information, but the real contribution of this book is on another score. The author has synthesized much of his own previous work as well as impressive quantities of material published in various regional historical journals. The notes and bibliography clearly demonstrate the research upon

which this book rests. They are, moreover, of definite practical value because of the preponderance of printed, relatively available items.

One may challenge incidental portions of the book in which the writer departs from his major themes. To credit Lt. Phil Sheridan with preventing a wholesale massacre at The Cascades of the Columbia, March, 1856, will make any knowing reader wish that no mention whatever had been made of the skirmish. In his recent textbook, *The Great Northwest*, Dr. Winther takes pride in placing the missionaries in their "proper setting." One may excuse him for disposing of all missionary endeavor, Catholic and protestant, in one paragraph and one sentence in the book reviewed here. Perhaps he should have ignored this topic also.

William N. Bischoff, Gonzaga University.

Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail. Diary of Robert Eccleston, edited by George P. Hammond and Edward H. Howes. University of California Press. Barkeley and Los Angeles. pp. xvii, 256. 1950. \$7.50.

Many have been the literary by-products of the centennial years recently celebrated in California. Since the most glamorous of the events commemorated was the Great Trek to El Dorado which we call the Gold Rush, it was to be expected that special attention would be given to a fitting recollection in print of some of the more interesting aspects of the Rush. Hence this Diary of Robert Eccleston, faithfully kept by a member of the Fremont Association of New York during his trek to California on the Southwestern Trail, comes as one of a number of such publications. It has been published in a de luxe and limited edition of 750 copies by the Friends of the Bancroft Library, and there is no doubt that the volume under review represents both printing craftsmanship and painstaking editorial supervision at their respective best. However, it is the reviewer's conviction that the publication of such diaries poses certain questions and problems.

There can be no doubt that the editors of the Eccleston Dairy worked long and hard at their task of annotating and commenting on the day by day account of an Argonaut under way to a rendezvous by the western sea. I believe that nothing is lacking in this regard and that, viewed from this aspect, the volume is a distinguished contribution to the literature of the subject. But I also believe that the day by day account of Robert Eccleston is quite pedestrian in many of its pages; this means that I must dissent with the editors in their assertion (p. xi) that, in this diary, "ordinary details of daily routine are so described as to lift them above the humdrum."

Like (if partial) dissent must be registered with another statement on the same page: "Warm and lively, Eccleston's diary is not only entertaining but a valuable contribution to the literature of the opening of the Southwestern Trail, and to Western Americana in general." That it is a valuable contribution because of its careful editing of the essentially accurate material furnished by Eccleston is incontestable: this, in itself, makes the publication venture more than justifiable. But I have wondered, and shall continue to so wonder, whether it be wise to convey the impression in volumes of this kind that what is, in my opinion, material for the specialist should be advertised as interesting and engaging reading for the average reader. This edition of the Eccleston Diary belongs in our libraries as a specialized tool in illustration of the Southwestern Trail because two competent historians have enriched the diary with equally competent observations: it is my belief, though, that the unadorned "Eccleston," even though called "warm and lively," is neither.

John Bernard McGloin, University of San Francisco.

Power and Morals. By Martin J. Hillenbrand. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1949. Pp. xi + 217.

The author states in the Foreword to his book that "the winning of the war has not solved our political and social problems" and that they will not be settled until the basic "problem of power" is solved. His thesis is that the Western philosophies of positivism, utilitarianism, and pragmatism are rooted in the same "power conception" of politics as are the philosophies of Communism and Fascism. This thesis is well defended in the first half of the book. The second portion of the book is devoted to a treatment of natural law and of the function of violence.

The reader gets the impression that the book was written as the fruit of a well-spent term of graduate study and that it was written in a hurry. The study is marred, unfortunately, by all-too-familiar graduate-school jargon; so many "isms," "ologies," and professors have a way of burying the real questions. The author tells us that his book was written "after much . . . interruption," after the pages had been "lost, and scattered and laboriously reassembled." The labor was certainly worth while, but it would perhaps be an even more rewarding task were the author to adopt a slower pace and a more elementary kind of treatment. The chapter on natural law, for example, is good in many respects but fails to bring out the primacy of right desire in practical truth.

Charles N. R. McCoy, Saint Louis University.

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This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. An asterisk denotes a review of the book in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and the number of pages is not announced.

MEDIAEVAL

Abelson, Paul, *The Seven Liberal Arts; a Study in Medieval Culture*. Peter Smith. pp. 150. \$2.50.

Barr, Gladys H., *Monk In Armour*. Abingdon-Cokesbury. \$3.00.

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A series of essays on the origins of monasticism and the life and influence of John Cassian which will be of help to graduate students and history teachers of this period of medieval history. It is a scholarly work which gives evidence throughout of research and judgment.

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